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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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20 January 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ LEADERS SPEAK TO NINTH PLENUM

CSR Premier Korcak

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] The reports presented here demonstrate the relationship between our economic plans and the international situation. The economy of the Czech Socialist Republic, with its high share in both export and import, is directly affected by developments on the world markets and rising international tensions. Our approach to meeting planned tasks in the coming years is based on the positive trends of the past period. In industrial and construction production, the plan is being fulfilled, while anticipated rate of development have been surpassed. Agriculture, too, has registered certain successes. This year, agricultural workers have harvested 7.3 million tons of grain, which is the greatest yield in the history of the CSR. There has been improvement in the sphere of capital investment construction. The construction of the Paskov cellulose plant and the repairs on the National Theater building were completed on time, along with certain savings in outlays. Fulfillment of the complex housing construction plans also reflects the beneficial impact of adopted resolutions. The results achieved enable us to meet our obligations with respect to foreign and domestic trade, the living standard, as well as the needs of the production sector.

We have succeeded in improving the situation in the formation of resources, thus creating prerequisites for accelerating the dynamism of economic development in the remaining 2 years of the 5-year plan. We do not, however, underestimate the complexity of the coming year. Much will depend on not viewing the demanding tasks in raising productivity onesidedly, but rather in harmony with the goals of higher effectiveness and better internal and external balance.

We will encourage branches and economic production units to strive in their plans for a production growth which would lead to better satisfaction of needs, higher national revenue, as well as strengthening our country's defense capability.

In our daily concerns, we must not neglect anything which would make our life more difficult in coming years. Many problems of a long-term character can be resolved only gradually. Some of the principal ones are obsolescent fixed

production assets in most branches, shortage and unsuitable structure of construction capacities and low effectiveness of export. We are also increasingly concerned about the deterioration in the natural environment.

Industrial production holds the decisive share in the formation of CSR national revenue. The export tasks of the consumer industry have been growing from year to year, even though it had not originally been built as an export branch. This is not the first time I have discussed these matters, the needs in this area are urgent. We know that there are no easy solutions; however, we must provide answers and clarify the perspectives in connection with the preparation of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and long-range outlook. We also do not wish to reconcile ourselves with the low effectiveness of export, even though here, too, we have not yet exhausted all reserves. The basic cause of this state of affairs is the obsolescence of plants and equipment. The measure of wear in fixed machinery assets in the consumer industry has reached 62 percent, and as much as 64 percent in such important export branches as the knitting and textile industries. At the same time, the means expended on machinery maintenance and repair in the consumer industry are more than double their original cost.

A similar situation exists in the food industry. We have achieved a good harvest in grain, vegetables and fruits, and we are able to raise even the production of animal commodities. However, due to insufficiencies in processing and storage, we have suffered significant losses. We do not conceal our own share in shortcomings, for example, in organization, yet the most important prerequisite for improvement in the current state is sufficient processing capacity. This unfavorable situation has been the subject of justified criticism for a long time.

Development of the economy in the coming years will in many respects be contingent on the quality of the construction industry. We are building nuclear power plants and new hard coal mines. Demands on the construction industry are being levied by the uranium industry, as well as the reconstructed branches. We are building new apartments and we are confronted with difficult tasks in the maintenance of old buildings. In its present structure, the Czech construction industry does not meet these requirements. Of the total number of employees, we have a smaller share of construction workers than Slovakia, and less than in the other developed states. Without infusion of additional young workers and modern technology, we will not be able to satisfy the demands levied on us. I would like to express my conviction that the federal engineering ministries will keep the needs of our construction workers in mind when they elaborate the assignments of the plan. In housing construction, new housing settlements should be turned over for use only after all work has been completed, rather than in stages. We wish to adhere to the goals of the 5-year plan. Of the overall task, in the last 2 years we must complete construction of about 50 percent of housing units; consequently, by raising the tasks for the coming year, we will be in a better position to meet those of 1985. Housing proper and furnishings and utilities form one whole, both in the plan and with respect to citizen demands. Therefore, we must not allow fulfillment of one to the detriment of the other, or excuse delays by shifting equipment from one construction site to another. All aspects of construction are equally necessary and all must be timed simultaneously.

We are a processing country and we are confronted with the need to manage domestic and imported raw materials better. We see the best way of accomplishing this in better utilization of secondary raw materials, i.e., paper, textile, glass, plastic and other materials. Their processing will require certain means, primarily in terms of machine equipment. Ours is one of the few countries which, instead of effective processing at home, either allows these materials to devalue or else exports them at low prices. Responsible organs must see to it that this state of affairs is not allowed to continue. We have adopted a resolution on this subject both in the federal and republic governments. Results will depend on a more initiative and responsible approach at all levels.

Gone are the times when, in the interest of rapid economic development, it was possible to postpone the renewal of ecological balance and tolerate narrow branch economic viewpoints. The 1980's represent a period of sharpened and complicated problems in the natural environment. The seriousness of their future consequences can no longer be ignored. Here, too, it is a fact that these problems can only be resolved gradually, in line with the need for the growth in resources. The government has dealt with this matter and decreed submission of proposals outlining how to resolve the problem. It will not be easy but answers must be found.

The problem of the forests is closely linked with the state of our water economy. Here, in contrast with the effects of toxic emissions, the technology is known and tried. We have strict regulations on the protection of waters and any exceptions to them are dealt with by the government. In the past we have approved some of the requests, but not everyone is yet aware that temporary alleviation must not become the rule. For this reason, we have this year denied an additional 1,222 requests for exceptions in the matter of handling waste water above the permissible level of pollution. We believe that if enterprises and organizations are able to build various types of expensive equipment, they must also be able to insure the purity of water.

We devote much attention to the implementation of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum resolutions. The restructuring of the Ministry of Construction and Technology into the Commission for Scientific and Investment Development is viewed by the government as a means of more effective management in this area. We have adopted the plan for technological development for next year. The question in practical terms is what can be accelerated and how. We consider it most important to see that the production growth of selected commodities of high parameters is included in a complex manner directly in the plan itself. In evaluating the preparation for plan fulfillment, we see the growing role of the system of management, the strength and weaknesses of individual managers. Most enterprises are fulfilling the plan, even though not with the same effect on national revenue. There are more than a few cases where we have succeeded in orienting the efforts of managerial staffs and labor collectives toward better utilization of resources and such production as is needed by our entire society. Yet there are still cases of personal, enterprise and branch excess caution, sometimes even speculation, in accepting and breaking down the tasks of the plan. Often we are guided by indicators and visions of bonuses, at the price of losses to society. We are still unable correctly to distinguish bad

enterprises from good ones, it has not yet become a custom to support the best, refuse to be satisfied with mediocrity, and apply a differentiated approach instead of the deep-rooted egalitarianism.

In the past year we have acquired many experiences in pressing for high economizing. Thus far, we have been more successful in material and energy consumption than in higher labor productivity. This relates to insufficient orientation on material incentive. Measures for adjustment of wage funds have not yet been sufficiently reflected in labor force reductions, in better utilization of fixed assets, or in the reduction of reserves. Insufficient economic and political pressure for savings in the labor force and in individual human effort raises the price of production and weakens order and discipline.

Fulfillment of economic and social policy tasks is closely linked with the work of the national committees. Experiences with the fulfillment of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum resolutions confirm the correctness of the orientation toward a complex development of territorial aggregates, toward better quality organizational activity and improvement of services. This is attested to by findings in the work of the national committees in central towns and communities which make use of their greater jurisdiction to satisfy citizen needs better. The higher-level national committees, as well as the government, must devote constant attention to these key localities. We strive for better quality assistance by the ministries to the national committees. Nevertheless, there are still cases of unnecessary red tape and excessive reliance on mere issuance of rules and regulations.

The Central Committee emphasizes the sphere of paid services. Since the sixth plenum, we have set up in the local economy and production cooperatives more than 500 new outlets, introduced or expanded over 1,000 services, and 600 individuals received authorization for special participation. This is not much. Moreover, there are great local differences and we find that this sphere is still being underestimated. Changes in management, planning and funding are gradually being implemented. There are still problems with the shortage of young workers in the most sought-after services, smooth material and technical supply, obsolescence of some facilities and others. This, however, should in no way become a reason or even excuse for the slow progress in this sensitive area.

We consider the good results of this year as proof of the correctness of the party's economic policy, as well as the assessment of our capabilities. Next year's plan will be implemented under complicated international conditions. The better, therefore, must be our effort to proceed on the road of strengthening positive results and uncovering reserves, in order that we might gradually meet the goals of the 16th congress of our party.

SSR Premier Colotka

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] The report presented by Comrade Potac shows that the results in the fulfillment of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and the tasks of the 1984 plan create

realistic prerequisites for the successful achievement of the goals set forth by the 16th CPCZ Congress. Development to date confirms the correctness of the road we have entered upon, and provides satisfaction for 1.5 million communists, for top state organs, economic management, and for all the working people. It encourages us to approach with yet more activism and communist exactingness the implementation of the strategic policy of greater effectiveness and quality of all work, resolution of problems, and overcoming shortcomings which are slowing down our forward progress. Therefore, it is beneficial and necessary to draw up at least briefly a balance sheet of where we have made distinct progress, where our efforts were crowned with success, where we had to wage the toughest battles, and which problems we have not yet fully mastered.

We are gratified that, as throughout the state, positive tendencies predominate in the economic development of Slovakia. This is attested to by the fact that this year we can realistically anticipate surpassing the planned growth in the formation of both the social product and national revenue. A decisive share in this is the faster growth of industrial production achieved virtually without raising the raw material and energy input, or with only minimal increases, in other words, simply through their higher valuation. This process has been most contributed to by structural changes, especially the high dynamism of technically advanced branches of engineering, electrotechnical industry and chemistry, which are and will continue to be the pillars of industrial production dynamism both on the national scale and in Slovakia. Certain successes have also been achieved in the utilization of wood materials, especially the good start in the production of cellulose in Ruzomberok. Unfortunately, this was not the case with the reconstruction of Chemickeluloza Zilina, nor has development in Vranov been to our full satisfaction. A positive result in our effort to contribute as much as possible to a balanced development in our external economic relations is also the more rapid growth in export deliveries for both the socialist and nonsocialist states.

In agriculture, despite long-lasting drought which hit the productive regions of Slovakia the hardest, we have achieved, just as in the Czech Republic, the best harvest to date in thickly sown grain, and we are surpassing the tasks in animal production, this being reflected, among other things, in a stabilized food supply for the population. Through more intensive care by party and state organs and by means of soil protection, we have--following a long period of unfavorable development--halted the loss of arable land and injected additional means into cultivation.

We have improved the performance of the construction industry this year. Concentration of effort and funds on the most important projects enabled us to reduce unfinished construction and, compared with the preceding period, to achieve a certain improvement in the completion of new capacities. In the period just elapsed we have also met the tasks set forth by the party congress of shifting construction capacities to locations of concentrated investment construction, namely to Prague, the North Bohemian Region and Bratislava.

Despite better results in construction, we still see in this industry significant reserves which party, state and economic organs must further mobilize.

Through the joint effort of party organs, the federal and republic governments, and in cooperation with the Hungarian party, we have succeeded in setting forth future approaches to joint construction of river installations on the Danube, which we build jointly with the Hungarian People's Republic as a concrete example of mutually beneficial international cooperation.

Higher and more effective formation of resources throughout the state, as well as in Slovakia, enabled us to maintain and in some aspects improve the quality of personal, but especially social consumption. In harmony with the conclusions of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, we strive in the central organs and national committees to implement measures to improve the living and working conditions of our people. We have already achieved many positive results by bringing the performance of the state administration closer to the people and in progress in paid services, even though the situation in individual districts and communities is still quite uneven.

When I assess the overall positive development of the economy in Slovakia, I consider it necessary to emphasize two things. First, the renewed dynamism was greatly aided by the work of party organs and organizations, by communists in the state and economic management organs, organizations of the National Front, and communists in all sectors, who in the spirit of the Central Committee resolutions--and on the basis of deliberations at the annual membership meetings and party conferences--inspired the working people's efforts to fulfill the program of the 16th congress.

Secondly, a brief review of where we have advanced and succeeded cannot conceal shortcomings, weak points, and unmastered problems, of which there are still many. The results in the growth of industrial production could have been even higher this year if all new capacities had been put into operation within the prescribed deadlines, if we had mastered everywhere the accumulation of production and reached the projected parameters. In this respect, as shown by the report presented by Comrade Potac, our greatest problems lie in the cellulose and wood-processing industries. Neither can we be satisfied with the course of construction of certain capacities in the food industry and other branches. We still have many enterprises which, in technical levels and production quality, lag behind the growth and demands of the domestic and foreign markets, thus realizing their production under economically less advantageous conditions. One of the shortcomings which still lowers the final effect are the high losses in harvesting, handling and storing certain produce, a fact which certainly has something to do with labor and technological discipline, while also stemming from insufficiency in machinery and storage space. We have consistently dealt with these and other problems in the party Presidium, in regional and district party committees, as well as in the ministries and national committees, and adopted resolutions to correct them. We must say that the effect was not always satisfactory, due to the objective complexity of the problems, but often also due to subjective factors. In the struggle for consistent fulfillment of all tasks, we have no intention of relenting even for a moment. On the contrary, we intend to sharpen this struggle.

In the preparation of the plan for 1984, we based ourselves primarily on the need to insure the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Backed by the directives

of the 16th CPCZ congress and the CPS congress, we strive for maximum utilization of the existing technical and production potential, the natural and economic conditions in Slovakia, the increment in and higher quality of workers of productive age, for the highest possible input into the resources of a unified Czechoslovak economy. In these intentions, we anticipate accelerated dynamism in all branches of material production, and expect that the share of Slovakia in the national revenue in 1984 will be more than 40 percent, in other words, with the national growth of national revenue of 2.9 percent, its trend under the conditions of the SSR is given by the percentage 4.2. This clearly shows the increase in performance of the Slovak economy, as well as the return on means invested in it. With the overall growth in goods production of roughly 4 percent, we are confronted with the task of raising deliveries for export by 6.7 percent, and by up to 8.7 percent for export to the nonsocialist states.

One of the best ways of raising the technical level and quality of products, with a simultaneous rise in labor and overall effectiveness, is scientific and technological development. In this sense, we are preparing a whole set of measures for the realization of tasks stemming from the Eighth Central Committee Plenum. We expect that the respective branches will assess and finalize the plans for technical development for 1984, especially with respect to the economic gains of the output. In party organs and in the government we will make sure that the necessary assistance is provided especially for the research facilities in Slovakia, which have a decisive share in the resolution of major tasks of a national character, but are also important in international cooperation.

In the agricultural and food complex, we are determined to mobilize all factors of effective growth better, and insure adherence to the links between plant and animal production, as provided for by the plan. This year's drought in Slovakia affected especially corn, sugar-beets and solid fodder. Under these conditions, maintenance of balance between resources and needs in fodder for the planned animal production will, for individual enterprises and Slovakia as a whole, be one of the most important tasks for agricultural management and production. Toward this goal, we must mobilize all possible sources of fodder, increase thrift in its use and do everything we can to prepare a good harvest next year. Our agricultural workers will have to adapt production to the tasks of the 5-year plan and, in line with this goal, lower the state of fattened pork by about 80,000 animals. In beef cattle we respect the long-term goal, namely, to raise the reserves in this commodity as one of the consequences of better utilization of the large share of meadows and pastures intended for the intensification of agricultural production.

In the sphere of capital investment and other types of construction, we will increase pressure for further reduction of unfinished projects, especially by stricter regulation in the issuance of permits for new construction. This should provide an opportunity for more rapid completion of the most important installations. Within this effort, we visualize completion of new capacities in the Jaslovské Bohunice nuclear power plant, the antioxidant facility in Sala, technical rubber in Likier, steel cords in Hlohovec, coke in the East Slovak Iron Works in Kosice, and others. In harmony with the needs of the

Czechoslovak economy, we focus more than half of the new construction on the development of fuels and energy, and on rationalization of their consumption. Also heavily represented is engineering construction in electrotechnology, medium-tonnage chemistry and pharmaceutical production, important both for improvement in foreign trade and for higher valuation of material input. To this we add that, in line with a statewide trend, two-thirds of investment initiated in the processing industry is of the reconstruction and modernization character. We are striving to meet the tasks set by the party congress in complex housing construction.

Even with limited investment possibilities, we do not overlook the vital construction needed to provide sources of drinking water and protect the natural environment.

In the realization of substantive economic goals, we must introduce into practice and better utilize the Set of Measures, in order to improve the system of targeted management. Especially needed is a better and more concrete elaboration of the merit criteria to be applied consistently to collectives and individuals. In this connection, we will demand more urgently the formation and application of technically and economically justified norms of labor, material and energy consumption with, naturally, quality production norms in first place. An important test of the quality of management will also be the preparation of the 1984 plans from the higher to the lower levels of management, in a manner which would not be a mere mechanical division of tasks, but rather a differentiated extension of the plans all the way to the work-sites where there is best knowledge of concrete conditions, prerequisites and performance reserves.

The tasks whose fulfillment will mean further advance of the economic and defense strength of our homeland and the entire socialist community, will be approached with the awareness of high responsibility and realization of the tense international situation. These considerations were especially stressed in the report presented by Comrade Vasil Bilak. We know that the aggressive course of imperialism is reflected not only in ideological subversion and rampant anticommunism. The efforts to destabilize individual socialist countries and attempts at gross interference in their internal affairs also have their impact in the economic sphere, in hampering foreign trade and clear discrimination, all of which without doubt affects our economic and social progress. Moreover, at this time we are directly threatened by the deployment of American nuclear weapons in our immediate neighborhood, as noted in the report presented by Comrade Bilak. By ignoring the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries, the imperialists are attempting to disrupt the existing balance of forces, significantly increasing the threat of confrontation. In this situation, our party and state leadership could do nothing else but proceed as it did when, in harmony with agreements between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, it adopted--as did our neighbor, the German Democratic Republic--a decision on the preparation of deployment of missile systems of a tactically operational designation. We must make sure that every citizen understands the correctness of this measure which had been forced upon us. It is necessary that people not only understand and support these measures as an inevitable condition of our peaceful life. We must all,

each in his place, draw proper conclusions for our own work. This understanding must be mirrored everywhere in responsible fulfillment of our duties, mastering of production tasks in terms of quality and effectiveness, strengthening the policy of thrift, order and discipline, as well as intensification of Czechoslovak patriotism, socialist internationalism and socialist conviction. Under the leadership of our party, we will focus the attention of managerial state and economic organs on these requirements, so that, through consistent political, organizational, managerial and mass political educational work, we can further develop the constructive activity of the working people, while making full use of their initiative.

Foreign Affairs Minister Chnoupek

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] The situation in the world, broadly analyzed in the Presidium report presented by Comrade Vasil Bilak, has perhaps never in the postwar years been subjected to such severe trials and tribulations as it is today. In searching for difficult answers to complicated questions, we base ourselves primarily on the reliable principles of our foreign policy contained in the conclusions of the 16th congress, everyday work of our party leadership, our government, on the coordinated policy emanating from the conclusions of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact countries, and the foreign ministers' committee of the pact. In the past, as in the present difficult situation, our foreign policy has always consistently advocated the strengthening of peace, relaxation of tensions, halt of armament, and international cooperation. As recently stated by Comrade G. Husak, it is a policy for which, given the existence of nuclear arms, there is no reasonable alternative. It is a policy, as recently stressed by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, which represents the unshakable determination of the CPSU and all Soviet people.

In examining the burning problems of the current period, we consider no less carefully the forces active at the other pole of the world situation, notably the attempts by those responsible for the tensions, the Government of the United States, to achieve military superiority and dictate to the world. One of the priorities of this policy is a frontal attack on the unity of the socialist countries, as recently defined by Vice President Bush in Vienna.

The American Government exerts no less energy on a systematic destruction of even the little which is left of the mechanism for a dialogue, on fanning an unprecedented militarist psychosis, raising military budgets with the aim of forcing feverish armament on us, evidently as the only form of relations, and undermine through arms expenditures our economy, wear us down, and bring communism to its knees. The growth of opposition to this policy in Western Europe, especially in the form of the peace movement, has become an important internal political factor, despite claims by leaders of these countries that decisions will not be made in the street. Nevertheless, there is disillusionment even among class allies of the United States. In addition, Grenada, this actual case of raising international terrorism and subversion to the level of state policy, turned the opposition by United States' allies into a veritable crisis of confidence.

What will the future bring?

All prognoses for the remainder of the 1980's--and there are many--speak of the inflation of forms and factors which are in the game and basically make it impossible to predict developments. Yet, they have certain common denominators.

First of all, they warn. If up to now it has been possible to rely on the fact that international freezes are followed by thaws, today in the nuclear age, when international relations as a system lack the necessary reserve of stability, we can no longer rely on this stereotyped cycle.

They remind us that unless Soviet-American relations become more stable and equitable--and under the present U.S. administration this is unlikely--we may enter a phase in which it will be difficult to get out of the vicious circle of increased tensions.

They predict that if new missiles are deployed in Western Europe, we will face a qualitatively entirely new military, strategic and political situation.

They anticipate that in case of such sharpening of tensions, the deformation and liability of international economic relations will deepen.

Finally, they conclude that if the infrastructures of power relations inside imperialism are affected so deeply by negative tendencies, in other words, the most unfavorable alternative, the situation would require a new, highly scientific analysis and the setting forth of new political and strategic approaches.

So much for prognoses.

Despite them, however, life does not end with 1983, nor with the deployment of the missiles. The world will go on. There will obviously be opportunities to overcome this dangerous phase, perhaps to a more limited degree, but they will be there. It will be necessary to make use of them, not from defensive positions, from some sort of trenches of passive observation of new attempts to gain superiority over us, from some fatalistic approach to the question of the inevitability of reaching a point of no return just preceding a war, not from positions of the weaker party. They should rather be used through offensive, sufficiently emphatic promotion of our policy, our proposals, especially the treaty banning the use of military force between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries contained in the Prague Political Declaration. We will continue to explain and propagate our positions and create around them a broad, unified front of antiwar forces.

We will also apply these approaches in those international assemblies which deal with the conclusions of the Helsinki Conference, especially the Stockholm Conference, the very first all-European disarmament forum in the history of our old continent. We welcome its convocation, without overestimating its significance. With respect to the just concluded preparatory meeting in Finland, we continue to believe that the decisive factor will be to show that the European states refuse to abandon the process of cooperation. Only in

this manner will it be possible to create prerequisites for expanding the policy of detente into the military sphere.

We intend actively to develop relations with countries of different social systems further by means of a creative and imaginative search for effective forms, wherever we find a willingness and political will to reciprocate.

We cannot remain silent on the reality that the Bundestag through its vote in fact gave a green light to the deployment of the missiles, thus taking a serious step in increasing the danger that another holocaust could emanate from German territory. In the question of our security we must be sufficiently emphatic. History would never forgive us for hesitating on this subject. It can be said that Western reaction to our measures to deploy missile systems of a tactical operational designation was varied. In any event, no one is left in doubt today that we are determined to do all that is necessary to strengthen our defense capability. No one has the right to hope that we are not entitled and able to do this for our security. We are not naive and we have had our experiences. We know that the imperialists have always been brave when facing a weaker opponent, as shown in Grenada. They will not dare to move, however, against an equally strong, well-prepared and vigilant adversary.

The coming stage of the struggle for peace and relaxation of tensions, against nuclear confrontation, will obviously place great demands on our political, ideological and diplomatic endeavor. We are not going into it with empty hands. We will enhance the basic certainties which we have built, i.e., friendship with most of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, friendship with the nonaligned movement, the recognized partnership in the realization of detente and cooperation with many capitalist states, our work in international organizations, especially on the floor of the United Nations and the Security Council, our vice chairmanship of the current General Assembly, or our spontaneously adopted declaration on international cooperation in reaching the goals of disarmament.

Our most precious currency is the ever stronger alliance with the large family of socialist countries in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. Constant strengthening of this unity and solidarity, care for their harmonious character, systematic development of mutual relations, prevention of anything which might disrupt these ties, consistent coordination in foreign policy, these are the permanent priority tasks of our principled class and internationalist policy. These provide our answer to attempts to break up the monolith through a differentiated attack by the imperialists. We are especially proud of our friendship and ties with the Soviet Union. These are today at the highest level ever registered in their history. They represent the guarantee of our certainties. The Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union constantly striving for peace, its strength capable of resisting any threat by imperialism, represent the well from which we draw a strong feeling of certainty that it is not necessary to review the future only in black, nor dramatically succumb to pessimism, but rather that it is possible with justifiable confidence to face the future which, we are deeply convinced, will belong to peace and progress. I wish to assure you that members of the Czechoslovak foreign service, both at the

center and in 112 foreign diplomatic posts, will meet the demanding tasks set forth by the party with honor.

Leading Secretary Mamula

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] It is characteristic for the current realization stage of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ congress that--spearheaded by communists--there is growing political and work activism not only in enterprises but in all sectors of our social life. During the past 10 months we have been meeting the production plan for industrial goods by 101 percent; the value of production above plan in industry alone represents 991 million Kcs. Workers in construction and transportation are also meeting their obligations. We will keep our word to the effect that in 1983 we will add a day's production from materials, fuels and energy we have saved. This will add needed goods to the national economy in the value of about half a billion Kcs. Despite difficult climactic conditions, in agriculture we have achieved the highest yield to date, namely, 4.59 tons of grain per hectare. We will fulfill and significantly surpass production of meat and eggs. Milk production will be surpassed by roughly 40 million liters. What is important in our region is that there is renewed dynamism of production and prerequisites for progress next year.

The successes we have achieved are the result of the initiative and selflessness of the working people, who through increased effort are achieving constantly improving results in production. Just as throughout the republic, communists in our region also engage during the course of the year in high quality political activity. The annual membership meetings, plant, enterprise and district conferences, as well as our regional conference, were a forum at which many initiatives were born and adopted in their honor.

An important incentive for our endeavor was the Central Committee Presidium resolution of August 1983. Its realization in practical terms gradually brings positive results. Proof of this is the fact that this year's regional plan will be fulfilled, and we are creating conditions for meeting the plan for 1984.

This was achieved primarily through unified and consistent political pressure on enterprises and by concrete, effective mass political work, especially personalized agitation, as we have been charged to do by the Presidium of our party.

The political, organizational and mass educational efforts created a favorable climate for attracting the working people toward creative resolution of intentions, to concrete and conscientious participation of people in the fulfillment of party resolutions and the tasks of our economic policy. We consider most valuable the fact that most working people in the region have grasped the close and inseparable connection between our economic progress and the insane arms policy of the imperialists, notably the Reagan administration. The price of peace has risen in an unprecedented manner in the minds of people,

more than ever since the end of World War II. There is firm belief in the minds of our working people that our principal weapon in the struggle for peace lies in economic achievements, based on high quality, honest and effective work.

Especially today, we understand correctly the timeliness and lasting validity of Gottwald's slogan "build your homeland, and you will strengthen peace." There is more conviction now that the only guarantee of preserving peace in the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of our socialist community. Consequently, the working people fully support the peace policy of the CPSU through their everyday activism, which is reflected in the results of their work.

A clear majority of the working people in the North Moravian Region identify with the stand on our party's Presidium on the agreement between the Czechoslovak and Soviet governments on the deployment of operational tactical missiles on the territory of our homeland. We identify with the Presidium report presented by Comrade Vasil Bilak.

As I have already noted, the results in plan fulfillment for 1983 will be favorable in most enterprises. We have consistently joined our political and work efforts--and the struggle to surpass annual tasks--with the preparation of the plan for 1984. We are aware that the formulation of the plan for future years is a complicated process in that there is confrontation for local and national interests and needs. We must overcome old approaches to the resolution of economic problems. We are, therefore, emphatically convincing people that the needs and interests of society as a whole must have precedence. In the preparation of the implementation plan for 1984, certain unprincipled approaches have emerged. In July, unfulfilled tasks in production represented 926 million Kcs, 31 enterprises did not meet their assignments in goods production, 19 failed to insure export to the socialist countries, 47 were below performance and profit, and 49 demanded higher supply, investment and labor.

We could not agree to such practices. Therefore, we have subjected such management to severe criticism for lack of responsible handling of planned assignments. There have even been managers who gave up before the battle. They have lost their nerve to confront and solve problems. Party organs from plant level all the way to the regional committee have called such economic personnel to account. We reminded them of their duties as communists in a matter of personal communist honor.

By now, the outlook for the 1984 plan is better. The assignment directive will be adhered to. Despite expectations, the assignment breakdown is marked with considerable dynamism. The index of growth in goods production is 102.7 percent, adjusted performance 105.5 percent and profit formation 123.7 percent. A similar situation exists in export to both territorial groupings.

All this was achieved primarily because our party organs have had a steady influence on enterprises and organized concrete mass political action. We are trying to make this a permanent programmatic feature, since it represents

an aggressive and purposeful approach. Much good has been accomplished in this respect through the unified agitation days for the fulfillment of this year's plan.

In all our work, we always assume that the directive of the state plan represents the minimum of what needs to be achieved. Within the framework of substantive preparation of the regional party committee session on economic development in the region, we found that, for example, 13 important enterprises, representing 36 percent of production in the North Bohemian Region, do not know the tasks of the 5-year plan as a whole. The mid-period plan has in some enterprises not become a basic instrument of management; rather, these enterprises are guided only by the annual implementation plan. This serious matter is in conflict with the conclusions of the 16th congress of our party. It would be of great help if the ministries and VUH's, in line with the overall concepts and directives of the congress, would set forth binding and concrete tasks and goals of assignments in the state plan for the entire 5-year period, as well as a breakdown into individual years at the price level of 1984. This would assist in counterplanning and intensifying the struggle to fulfill the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The economic tasks of the last 2 years of the 5-year plan, given the complicated international situation, are very demanding. They require that we rapidly introduce scientific and technological findings into practice and substantially raise their share in the realization of the tasks of the state plan in our enterprises. At the October session of the regional party committee we adopted extensive concrete measures to insure adherence to the resolutions of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum. We based ourselves on the analysis of tasks which we set forth in 1982 for the scientific and technological sphere. Despite many positive examples, we cannot be satisfied with the results achieved. The process of scientific and technological development is advancing too slowly. As yet, it is not complex enough and has not become the axis of the state plan. In many places there is a lack of well-prepared moral and material stimuli which would accelerate introduction of scientific and technological findings into practical use. Our party organs will be even more demanding in this respect. We constantly strive to have enterprises consistently compare their products with the world's best, in terms of technology, esthetics and price, so that our products may achieve a higher utility value.

The struggle for faster introduction of scientific and technological findings into practical application is joined by trade union and youth organizations, scientific societies, outstanding workers, technical intelligentsia, and we demand better results from scientific worksites. These problems form the substance of concrete tasks set forth in the development of labor initiative.

A broad aktiv is already preparing the membership meetings of basic organizations, which will be held in early 1984. Following these, we will inform the working people and citizens at public meetings of the concrete tasks and programs of a well-formulated regional policy. We see the focal point of our work primarily in plants, cooperatives, individual worksites and work collectives, in other words, wherever decisions are made on fulfillment of party resolutions. Therefore, our attention is focused on direct contact with

people, direct organizational and mass political work among the working people who daily create new values and who, more than anyone, will directly cope with all questions of quality, intensity, discipline and labor productivity. We give thought to the tasks of the whole Seventh 5-Year Plan under the conditions of our region. What will decide the successes in 1984, and the fulfillment of the whole 5-year plan is and will remain a creative initiative of labor collectives and demanding approaches by technical and economic personnel. For this reason, we are even now preparing a pledge movement which will culminate in the adoption of an all-region pledge of our working people in 1984, on the 36th anniversary of the Victorious February.

We will put even more effort into the struggle for consistent realization of the strategic line of the 16th congress, under the conditions of our region. We will constantly develop all aspects of political, organizational and mass ideological work of the party, so that its authority and action capability can grow and its leading role be applied everywhere. We consider the growth of our economic strength to be decisive in the current struggle for peace and socialism. Therefore, I wish to assure this session of the Central Committee of our party that the North Moravian Region has enough strength to fulfill the tasks of the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan. We have created the necessary political and economic prerequisites for this goal.

Leading Secretary Pirc

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] The East Slovak Region party committee, the district committees, as well as basic organizations, focus their political and organizational work on the realization of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ congress in all branches of the national economy. We see that further enhancement of the economy of our state, maintenance and improvement of the people's living standard, are possible only with consistent realization of the party's economic policy, aimed at intensification of the economy. This effort by party organs of the region and districts, communists and all working people, is bringing positive results. During 10 months of this year, industrial enterprises have fulfilled the plan of their own adjusted performance by 102.7 percent. We have successfully met gross production tasks, as well as production of goods. Labor productivity in adjusted own performance was 104.8 percent. Sales for domestic and foreign markets surpassed the plan by 838 million Kcs, while final sales rose more rapidly. Generally speaking, we have achieved savings in the production process, outlays per koruna were lower in all outlay items. The industrial enterprises thus created a profit of 13.7 percent above plan. Even though not at the desired rate, the quality of production has nonetheless improved, especially in the chemical and engineering industries. Currently, Chemion Humenne has 83 percent of products in the first quality category, and Chemko Strazske 52 percent of evaluated production. In the 2 years of the 5-year plan we have modernized products worth about 5 billion Kcs and, compared with 1980, we have doubled the number of new products. The greatest growth is found in the engineering, electrotechnical, clothing and leather industries. Construction enterprises are fulfilling the Central Committee Plenum resolution and have moderately surpassed planned tasks in our region, in Prague, Bratislava and the North Bohemian Region.

In agriculture we have not fulfilled production of thickly-sown grain; however, overall results in plant production will be somewhat better than in 1982. According to prognoses, gross agricultural production will be 207 million Kcs, i.e., 3.5 percent higher than in 1982. Production of corn for seed was met by 103.2 percent and surpassed the plan by 6,000 tons. Production of sunflower seed, berries, peas and potatoes was met and surpassed. These positive results which we have achieved were largely brought about through the development of labor activism and initiative. More than 375,000 working people have adopted personal socialist pledges toward fulfillment of this year's plan. These focus on savings in production, higher quality and effectiveness. More than 20 percent of engineers, technical, research and development personnel have adopted pledges in the form of personal creative plans.

We have taken a certain step forward in the region in the development of the inventors' and innovators' movement. Savings in this area represent for the 2 years of the 5-year plan almost 1 billion Kcs. In our largest enterprise, the East Slovak Iron Works, this movement is considered exemplary. There was higher initiative in the leading collectives which, following the example of our cooperative partners in the Transcarpathian region of the Soviet Union, want to fulfill the tasks of the 5-year plan ahead of time, while maintaining all the qualitative parameters. Last September, the tasks of the annual plan were met by Comrades Alzbeta Skovinova, Anna Bartosova from Tatravst, many workers from the Bast and Textile Plants Revuca, the collectives of Frantisek Puvala and Jozef Zgorica from the Magnesite Plants Lubenik, and additional collectives from other branches of our economy.

An overwhelming majority of the working people in our region correctly understand the program of the 16th CPCZ congress and are realizing its tasks through an activist approach to their work. Despite positive results, however, the regional party committee and its presidium assess the situation soberly and critically.

We cannot say that we have done everything to make sure that the strategic line of the party, aimed at intensification of the economy, has been fully applied everywhere. We have enterprises which are not fulfilling the plan, or are doing so unevenly, thus causing severe losses to society. Disorder also prevails in the construction industry and in the entire capital investment process. The work of the investors is often not up to the demanding requirements of the times.

In the construction organizations there are still many weak spots in making proper use of working hours, in technology and savings throughout the production process. This has an impact on the economy of the enterprises which, in place of profit, show unplanned losses, thus depriving society of considerable values. In the region we also have weaknesses in animal production and in agriculture. In many cooperative and state farms we produce meat and milk ineffectively at too high a cost, and the utility of the animals does not correspond to the expended means and possibilities. We must consistently deal with all these shortcomings in the region, districts and especially directly at worksites in enterprises, since they are depriving us of a considerable potential for the growth of the economy.

The results of the 10 months of this year show that we will meet prescribed goals and even surpass them slightly, especially in industry and transportation, and that we will maintain the dynamism of economic growth in the region.

The tasks for the 1984 plan are very demanding. We support them to the fullest extent, since they stem from requirements levied upon us by the current stage of our society's development. The presidium of the regional party committee has in the course of the year critically assessed the plan proposals of all important enterprises. We have found that some of our responsible economic managers have not yet shed old customs, they strive for a soft plan, larger input and smaller output, higher numbers of employees and wage funds, along with lower labor productivity. We have subjected such positions to severe criticism, since they are in conflict with the resolutions of the 16th congress, the needs of society, as well as the demands of the working people themselves.

After the Central Committee session, we must make sure that the planned assignments be consistently elaborated and especially that they be responsibly discussed with the working people. We will strive to insure that they are fully acquainted with the plan, that they come to consider it their own cause and that from the very beginning of the year they master the struggle for its quality realization.

The demanding tasks literally dictate that we more consistently realize the conclusions of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum on the problems of scientific and technological development. In harmony with this, we orient the region's enterprises toward faster introduction of new production technologies and construction modernization, toward broader use of robots and manipulators, in order to reduce the need for human labor, better valuate fuels, energy and metals, raise the quality of products and social productivity of labor. We must resolve demanding tasks in the development of agricultural production, especially in the growth of its intensity. Critical comments of our central organs on some of our weaknesses are taken very seriously and we try to eliminate them through our daily labors.

Our region operates under very complicated soil and climactic conditions. This places great demands on us. Each mistake in agrotechnology will cause double the difficulties than in areas where conditions are better. The presidium of the regional party committee undertook a detailed analysis of grain production in the East Slovak lowlands where the plan was not fulfilled and, in addition to cadre solutions, we have prepared a proposal for measures which should bring about consistent application of scientific and technological findings in production. Even more emphasis must be placed on making our soil more fertile. We are not giving up the struggle in the use of the East Slovak lowlands for an intensive development in production. We believe that, after all problems have been resolved, the lowlands will provide for society all that is expected of this area.

The promotion of new, progressive methods of management and the transition of our economy to the road of intensification cannot do without a higher political, ideological and professional level of our people, without their

understanding the inevitability of our march forward. Ideological and educational work cannot be measured in percentages; however, percentages of plan fulfillment, growth in production quality and the struggle for technical progress do provide a certain criterion for political work and the patriotic maturity of our people. Therefore, the session of the regional party committee assessed in great detail the question of political and ideological education in the region, and adopted a program for our work in this sphere all the way up to the 17th CPCZ congress.

In educational work, we must orient ourselves much more on emphasizing the example of people who perform well, who make sure that quality products come from their hands, who struggle for the honor of their factory's brand name. With equal energy, we must struggle against those who produce low quality goods for which there is no demand, and then go out and criticize everything and everybody when they cannot buy quality goods.

We are also not overlooking the serious problem of strengthening labor discipline. I am personally convinced that, with the development of initiative and activism, we have great reserves in the area of labor and technological discipline. The matter of discipline applies not only to workers but also to management, technicians and foremen, all those who organize and supervise production. We cannot demand discipline from a subordinate whose superior is himself undisciplined.

Political responsibility rests and will continue to rest on the work of the party, on the shoulders of us, communists. We know from long experience that where the party operates in an activist and responsible manner, where communists stand in the frontlines of the struggle, where they involve themselves personally in the achievement of the new and progressive, tasks are met and surpassed.

We want to see each organization operate aggressively, involve itself with a feeling of personal responsibility and stand at the head of progress. Consequently, even now we approach very responsibly the preparation of the January and February party membership meetings. In the spirit of the Central Committee resolutions, we want these meetings to evaluate fulfillment of the tasks of the 16th congress precisely, to consider frankly all problems and weak spots, avoid covering up and protecting those who are not meeting their tasks.

It is very appropriate that the CPCZ Presidium informs this session of the international situation. People are indignant and concerned about the imperialist policy of aggression. At meetings and assemblies in our region, more than 900,000 people unanimously denounced Reagan's policies, his deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe, and the aggression against little Grenada. Our people unanimously supported the decision of the CPCZ Presidium and the Federal Government on insuring the defense capability of our homeland. More than ever, the region's working people are aware of the great importance of our fraternity, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union. They know that their liberty and peaceful pursuits are guaranteed only thanks to the strength of the Soviet Union and its wise Leninist foreign policy.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] A critical look at the state of the economy and the search for causes of our individual successes and failures must not deter us from monitoring the overall direction of economic development. This overall trend in the Czechoslovak economy has in the past year been good, not only as confirmation of the correctness of the strategic line we have embarked on, but also with respect to the realization of this line in 1983. In the difficult international situation in which the world finds itself under the influence of the aggressive forces of world imperialism, the positive phenomena accompanying our economic progress are politically valuable. Along with full employment in Czechoslovakia, we have insured a smooth and rhythmic course in the national economy, and a relatively high standard of living for our citizens. Thanks to measures adopted earlier, there is higher stability in domestic trade, lower foreign currency indebtedness, we have succeeded in completing much socialist construction, both on time and of high quality, while simultaneously there was development of active participation of all social, age, and professional strata of the population in the creative endeavor of building a developed socialist society.

Despite the great successes which in many parts of the world remain merely an unfulfilled wish, the exactingness of the line of our last party congress setting forth standards for evaluating these results forces us to assess them with respect to the needs of the future and compare them with the levels achieved in the leading industrially developed states of the world.

In recent years, our economy coped better with limitations in import of primary energy and material resources than with improving its export capability. Why is this? The first task is no simpler or easier than the second. It is true that higher export capability and higher prices of our goods are closely linked with application in practice more rapidly of scientific and technological findings, and that today we cannot yet fully expect results of our last plenum. Nevertheless, we have exerted far more complex pressures on the economy of production factors than on speedier rationalization and modernization of goods produced. We find that wherever we join into one stream economic incentive, political needs, moral factors of responsibility, jurisdiction, pride in work accomplished, and necessary administrative and cadre prerequisites, we find success. By contrast, where we do not allow all these instruments of management to function, do not exert sufficient pressure on the implementers, allowing realization of tasks to lag behind, our tasks are met in an insufficient or incomplete manner. I speak of pressure on the enterprise economic sphere, as well as the top state administration, not only in terms of material incentive in management. Pressure means much more than merely material incentive. The implementers are often more affected by fear of the negative impact of losses than interest to participate positively in achieved profits. Even though today and in the near future moral and political factors are in the forefront and we will continue to develop them, we must not, in the management and assessment of the economy and society, retreat from the creation of demanding conditions and complex pressures on the productive

sphere and the state branch organs which are responsible for raising the export capability of our economy.

In years past, we have succeeded in mastering economizing with material production factors. We used visible, as well as latent, reserves from the period of extensive development and eliminated former bad habits of benevolent waste of production factors. But what next? For Czechoslovakia, a country poor in new primary energy resources and raw materials, thrift will forever remain timely and vitally important. In the future, import of energy and raw material resources can be lowered by, among other things, much more attention to collection of secondary raw materials and their recycling into the production process.

In the plans of scientific and technological development, therefore, we must insure research and introduction of new technologies which make it possible to process scrap into new quality input materials, and research the sphere of waste-free technologies. Simultaneously, we must take appropriate organizational steps to broaden the collection of secondary raw materials, both with respect to quantity and attention to thus far uncollected secondary raw materials. It would also be useful to build a system of information on scrap in various enterprises and branches of the national economy with the aim of providing data for its further utilization in other enterprises as, for example, in production-related services, etc. Here, too, we need a set of measures which would deter us from dumping secondary raw materials, and encourage us to process them and return them to the production process.

In this respect, we should follow the example of our northern neighbor, comrades from the GDR, who have already elaborated 70 technologies for processing scrap raw materials and who also have a well-organized system of sorting the collected secondary raw materials right in the initial phase of their accumulation.

Besides the economy of material production factors, we must devote attention to the economy of human labor. To raise the productivity of social labor is a categorical demand of one of the most important laws of socialism, the law of the economy of time. To bring the level of labor productivity closer to the international level is a prerequisite for making sure that, with the high share of foreign trade in our economy, we do not export in a manner which does not balance our own labor.

Therefore, even in this sector we must adopt measures gradually to achieve high productivity of social labor, especially in the key places of our economy. The prerequisite for meeting this task is consistent monitoring and promoting of the complex socialist rationalization of labor and organization of production.

One of the important components of this process is the application of robotics. It is surprising to see that, while we manufacture the robots, there is not much interest in their use.

No reason for this can be politically justified. If in the enterprise economic sphere insufficient interest in robots is explained by the argument that potential users lack the necessary prerequisites, then responsible officials must tell us who is to be blamed for this lack of preparedness. Indeed, production and use of 4,000 robots and manipulators was included in the Seventh 5-Year Plan and all of us, when approving it, thought that this was not enough, that precisely in this sector we could significantly surpass the task. Instead, there is danger that we will not fulfill even this much, without which a sustained increase in social labor productivity is impossible.

I consider it a positive phenomenon that, based on measures adopted earlier, we have succeeded in stabilizing supply on the domestic market. This stability creates very important aftereffects with respect to the political situation in the country, as well as the activity of the working people in insuring and meeting planned tasks in our economic development. I wish to emphasize that practical experience has confirmed the correctness of measures adopted by our supreme party and state organs. The situation on the internal market would be better if all the adopted measures were met without exception. Certain goods are still in short supply on the domestic market, while other types are piling up in warehouses. The supreme state organs surveyed the goods in short supply, yet this valuable information for socialist enterprises found no active response from them, in other words, no action to produce such goods. At the same time, we are failing to meet government resolutions to the effect that each socialist enterprise which manufactures the means of production is to contribute 1 percent of its production to insure supply on the internal market.

Naturally, the need to produce consumer goods according to demand refers especially to those enterprises which produce consumer goods as their primary task. The socialist enterprise is not and cannot be production for storage, but rather must be production of goods for the consumers, the customers. At the same time, I would like to note that we often find good products, comparable with the world standard, which have a low turnover. Why is this so? Goods do not sell themselves. The customer must be aware of them. The trade enterprises must know how to offer the goods, enter them, so to speak, into the customers consciousness. With the new varieties of commodities of long usage, we should organize collection of those which have been replaced. This would rationally insure their pickup when the new item is delivered. It should not be a problem for the trade enterprises to reach an agreement with the raw materials collection enterprises on such a system. Simply stated, we must learn to sell what we are able to produce well and what has unquestioned qualities. For now, the slogan "come on over, we will help you" remains a slogan rather than reality. Consequently, in the coming period we must exert comprehensive and effective pressure to improve the work of the trade organizations.

The proposal of the state plan for economic and social development in its entirety follows the substantive and directive strategy of the 16th CPCZ congress. In the future, we should give more attention to the interrelationship of the state plan and the plans for scientific and technological development.

The plans for scientific and technological development must truly become the axis of the other plans. In future planning operations we must strive for the creation of capacity and financial reserves, without which the resolution of emergency situations brought about by unforeseen circumstances is very difficult. In the transition to intensive factors of economic growth we must henceforth anticipate a significantly larger share of smaller investments with a rapid return. Investment which has a quick return and is less demanding in terms of financing, foreign currency and material not only does not burden our budgets, but also does not tie up funds for a long period of time.

In the organizational structure of our production and technical base, we should give priority to small and medium enterprises which throughout the world play an important role in the investment processes. This is true both in monitoring scientific and technological findings in practice and in creative competition with the large production enterprises for which they open the road to modernization. I don't want to be understood onesidedly. Naturally, we cannot avoid sizable investment, provided these are socially justifiable and necessary. Let us take the program of building nuclear power plants, which helps us resolve the fuels and energy supply, and at the same time will provide a healthier environment. Another example is construction of the subway. Prague, as a million-inhabitant agglomerate, was unable to solve the city transportation problem. It is not my intention to deny the importance of certain large investments--what I have in mind is something else entirely. We have become accustomed in the period of extensive economic development to resolve various problems through large, expensive investment on which the return was long in coming. Often these large investments were coupled with both good and undesirable features and we did not worry about extra cost here and there. Such practices must not be repeated in the future. The transition to an intensive type of economic growth is linked with modernization of production equipment, and thus with machinery investment more than any other. This transition also calls more for the building of small and medium enterprises rather than giant aggregates. Large investments and large enterprises should in the future be reserved for the processes of integration with the other countries associated in CEMA.

The road on which we are marching in the development of our economy and building an advanced socialist society is good, even though it is lined with hundreds of problems and difficulties. To overcome these requires a determined, courageous, creative and, let us say, exacting effort by all, regardless of which sector they are working in.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Reports-Elections Campaign Program Time

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 2 Nov 83 p 1

/Article by (reb)/

/Text/ In our region as in the entire nation, reports-elections meetings have begun in party organizations. In the past week, meetings have taken place in several hundred groups of the departmental and basic organizations of the PZPR in the Krosnienki, Przemyski Rzeszowski and Tarnobrzanski regions. In the course of the meetings, members balance the effects of the work of a 2½ year term, analyze the sources of accomplishments but also the reasons for various failures.

On the threshold of campaigning it is repeatedly emphasized that the appraisal of the road traveled in the past must be honest and keen. There is a need for an objective, authentic review of the work of every POP /Basic Party Organization/ and of its share in the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR, an image of its current actual condition. Just such a conscientious analysis can be the foundation for tracing intentions for the future, for eliciting sound proposals for the work of the next months.

The reports-elections meetings were preceded by very painstaking preparations. About their progress in the area of Lubenie Village, Jan Sznajder, first secretary of that KG /Gmina Committee/, says:

"Immediately after the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, which undertook a resolution in the matter of the campaign, we held a meeting of the village authority for the purpose of discussing matters related to the preparation and organization of meetings. In connection with the fact that the executive power of the KW /Provincial Committee/ agreed in our case even to our holding a village conference rather than a general meeting (such an agreement was indispensable, since the village organization has 146 comrades, while the temporary regulations approved by the Central Committee allow conferences with a minimum of 150 members), we established norms of representation. We adopted the principle that two delegates would represent five members of the party. In sum, therefore, 57 comrades will receive a delegate's commission for the village conference of the PZPR, whose preliminary date we set on 27 November.

We know from experience that the substance of, among other things, the accounts-program reports becomes in no small measure the ground plan for the level of discussion at meetings. The activists of the KG helped the secretaries in the preparation of the reports: we directed two such comrades to every POP.

The rural POPs--and we have four of them--preanalyze in detail the extent of implementation of the proposals which were announced at the beginning of the term to the address of the village administration, the institutions serving the village. Hence the presence of the representatives of the dictatorship of the KG at every reports-elections meeting. Simultaneously, we are aware that during discussion there will be a number of formulations of subsequent motions, remarks and propositions concerning the work of the office, of the SKR /Agricultural Circles' Cooperatives/, of commercial units. That is why, having received a timetable of the campaign in the region of the village, we decided that the meeting of the POPs of the village office would take place last, so that comrades from the administration could adjust to all these motions and take them into account in formulating the program of activity for the native POP.

Party Campaign on Tasks for Future

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 3 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by (A-ER), (WAB), Z. FL), (A-ER): "To Evaluate the Traveled Road Fairly, To Allot Tasks for the Future Accurately"/

/Text/ The reports-elections campaign has begun in the departmental and basic organizations of the PZPR. Its goal is to fix the directions for the work of the POPs for the near future, taking into account the experience up till now of implementing the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress. In the course of the meetings, moreover, new leaders are chosen for the OOP /Departmental Party Organizations/ and the POP.

In accord with the resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, the meetings in the departmental organs of the party ought to be over by the end of November. Nevertheless the timetables adopted in the region establish that most of the meetings will take place by 15 November. Accumulated information indicates that up to this time in the province such meetings have taken place in close to 100 organizations (for 1,457 OOP and POP).

During this reports-elections debate we often raise issues inspired by the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee. Frequently, however, ideological content relating to the state of the party, to the attitudes of individual comrades, are linked with the concrete problems of given environments, of matters pervading people's work.

Comrades from the regional stages of the PZPR speak about the preparation for the present campaign and the course of the first meetings.

What the People Live On

"The reports-elections meetings in our village," said the first secretary of the KG of the PZPR in Krzywczce, Franciszek Stadnik, "which will begin on 6 November, have been preceded by painstaking preparations. Among other things, we held a meeting with the participation of the village action group and the first secretaries of nine villages and three factory POPs in the course of which we discussed all matters related to the organization of meetings. Indispensable materials were also prepared. We established that the village conference would take place on 27 November and that 52 comrades would receive the commissions of delegates for it. We set the first reports-elections meeting for next Sunday, in Babici."

The first secretary of the KG of the PZPR in Jaroslawie, Julian Punicki, said, "We started the reports-elections campaign in our branches on 27 October with an assembly of the village POP in Koskowie." The POP also held a council in the Provincial Rural Construction Cooperative, and comrades from Sobiecin, Koniaczow, the Consolidated Village School, Zgoda and Makowisko are likewise summing up the forthcoming term. After conducting meetings in 11 villages and 9 factory POPs, which total 270 members, we will hold a village conference, which we have set for 10 December.

During the meeting in Kostkowi, most attention in the course of discussion was devoted to local problems. There was talk, among other things, about the need for keen preconsultation with inhabitants about matters pertaining to the projected consolidation of lands here, since these matters are arousing a great deal of controversy and many reservations. Numerous remarks and propositions were also directed at the commercial units or those working for the village. One of the suggestions concerned the need for repairs within a 2-km section of local road, which is a condition for prolonging the bus line of the Provincial Enterprise of Local Communication.

A Good Omen for Future Proceedings

Edward Gwiazda, secretary of the KZ of the PZPR in the Metal Plants in Nowa Deba, says:

"Our plant organization consists of 18 OOPs, counting jointly 432 members and candidates of the PZPR. We started the reports-elections campaign as early as mid-September with meetings in 24 party groups. To this moment, reports-elections meetings have taken place in 12 OOPs and during 6 of them, the functions of first secretary were entrusted to those who had discharged them in the previous term.

"In the reports of the retiring leaders, as in the discussions, most attention was devoted to settling accounts with propositions and postulates announced earlier. Feelings in this respect were rather unmistakable. I will, besides,

allow myself to add a fragment of the minutes from the reports-elections meeting of the OOP in the toolroom: 'At the meeting, 8 proposals and 24 various postulates were voiced which related to labor matters, professional unions, internal plant matters, economical reform and principles of control adopted earlier. No proposal remained unanswered.'

"I participated in four meetings and I can share my first impressions. The meetings lasted several hours, as a rule, and were characterized by rich, multidimensional discussion. The discussion included talk about matters of economic institutions, their functioning in the conditions of economic reform. Often these were critical utterances, imbued with concern about the future of the institution. There was a revelation of difficulties with material-technical equipment, with the taking on of new workers. Much attention was devoted to intraparty problems and to the efficacy of our influence on the environment.

"If I were to generalize, then I could say with complete responsibility that the activity displayed by the party members during these meetings constitutes a good omen for our future proceedings."

Campaign Already Halfway

"In the village of Korczyn, in the Konskie Province, the reports-elections campaign in party organizations has reached its halfway point. Up to 1 November, meetings have taken place in 7 to 14 POPs, jointly assembling 252 members," Michal Patla, first secretary of the KG of the PZPR, informs us.

A meeting in the Lumber Industry Labor Cooperative initiated the campaign. At this meeting, as at following ones, a real, multidimensional discussion took place. A strong emphasis was placed on the question of settling accounts with the motions and postulates announced during reports time. There were quite a few such motions; many concerned making the administration's work in the village bureau more efficient. As is now indicated, after the exchange of several workers, a clear improvement came about in this context.

One can see the strong concern of members of the individual party organizations regarding the further initiation of social achievements. In the past period many such acts have been realized. Two bridges were built with the army's help in Weglowiec and Krasnja, as well as a suspension bridge in Iskrzynie. The building of a new health center in Korczyn has advanced to top priority--an investment which will be actualized in the very near future, as will the following initiated undertakings: the building of a fire station in Komborn, a people's home in Krosciensk, a grocery store in Korczyn (near Podzamiec).

Carrying out an accurate reckoning of the past 2½ years, one also is shown positive changes in farming, namely, suitable cultivation of lands of the SKR and from the State Land Fund. After acceptance by inhabitants, the Village Bureau concluded a rent agreement with the young exemplary farmers from Czarnorzki who are preparing a pasture base on lands from the SKR for the breeding of sheep and slaughterhouse cattle. On the other hand, in the past year the PFZ /State Land Fund/ has allocated over 70 hectares of land to individual farmers.

These are the main currents of party discussion up this time. Soon further meetings will take place in the Korczyn Grocery Plants and in the Weavers' Society.

Assessment of Campaign at Konskie

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 3 Nov 83 p 3

/Article by (m), (ZN): "Strength in the Activity of All"

/Text/ We asked Stanislaw Muszczynski, first secretary of the KZ /Factory Committee/ of the PZPR in the Polmo Metallurgic Plant in Konskie, for an appraisal of the development of the reports-elections campaign.

"I have taken part in several meetings of party organizations in the institution and can assert that they clearly differ from last year's meetings. One can see the difference if only in the preparation for the meetings and in the discussion itself. A year ago speeches were dominated by wage and social matters; now, party affairs have become the most important problem. In the organizations one evaluates the positions of comrades, discusses the equity of the return of party identity papers. Nowadays we evaluate very critically those who have decided to do such a thing. In the resolutions undertaken in the course of the meetings, one always finds a resolve obliging the executives of the organization to extending party numbers in which special attention is directed at young people. In the resolutions, there is also talk about the necessity for perfecting the system of party training. The program and themes of training were worked out last year, the materials are ready. Discussion at the meetings concentrates on political problems. This happens because professional associations function within the institution, self-government is active. Cooperation has freed the party to occupy itself with political problems and inspirational activity. The reports-elections campaign also allows us to put personnel matters in order. Comrades approach the election of the organization's leaders and of candidates for the institutional conference very carefully. The meetings are also an occasion for the management of the institution and the leaders of the organization to settle accounts with the implementation of the proposals adopted by comrades during the previous reports-elections campaign.

A journalist from SLOWO LUDU was present at the meeting of the OOP in the sanitary division of the Metallurgic Plants in Konskie. Here is the voice of Comrade Andrzej Cukrowski recorded during the reports-elections discussion of the organization.

"We should take into consideration how to activate all the comrades in our organization. I believe that the separation of party tasks, which must be individually assigned, could contribute to this activation. Otherwise only two comrades from the executive power in the organization will work and the rest will become passive. The meetings of our organization should always start with a report on what the executive power has accomplished since the previous meeting, on how the motions adopted earlier have been implemented. Also important is the matter of undertaking cooperation with the youth organization in the department. Young people are the foundation of the party and the organization must not fail to perceive their problems. And there are also social matters. In the

institution, much has already been done, many proposals announced earlier have been implemented. But one must think about washstands for the experts, the kind which are already in the foundry. One can afford to say, I believe, that there will be no problem in installing them."

An Atmosphere of Concern About Plant Matters

The reports-elections meetings in the basic organizations of the PZPR allow an accurate review of achievements; they become, also, an occasion for analyzing problems which require resolution. Matters of party organization are likewise discussed, as are more general questions concerned with the functioning of the institution and with economic and social matters. The documents of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR introduce new subjects.

"At the meeting of our POP, we discussed most of the problems essential for the enterprise," says the second secretary of the POP in the Provincial Health Transport Unit /WKTS/ in Radom, Lech Kizenski. "The fundamental question is the increase of our numbers. The organization is not numerous, formed by 21 members. As of 1980 several individual were crossed off. Adopted decisions eliminated the status of apparent membership, they related to those individuals who had little in common with our program. Those who are convinced about the rightness of the adopted proceedings, who are aware of the role of a party member, of the responsibility which members assume, have remained in the POP. It is also a question of the greater activity of workers and youth. Last year, two candidates were accepted."

Putting the structures of the organization into order has an essential meaning. The WKTS is a specific unit. Workers are scattered throughout the entire province and most of them belong to basic organizations functioning through health care groups. Activity varies. Hence also one of the points of the resolution directed by the POP at the village committee /KM/ urged health transport workers to belong to the organization existing through WKTS.

Plant matters are, above all, a question of technical foundation, garages and such. The WKTS has accepted renovational workshops from the RPRI at Zeromski Street. Everything must be done so that they can become assigned for use as soon as possible. The plan is for this to happen next year.

Wieslaw Podsiadlo--a mechanic in the WKTS--says: "A great many nonparty individuals still remain in a state of expectancy, but there is no lack of those who support us. The former ought to realize that the path leading out of the crisis to an improvement of our material situation--about which we are all concerned--leads only through greater activism, through an open attitude toward social matters. Shutting oneself up in a circle of privacy will lead nowhere.

"The crew members of the WKTS are well-integrated, the results of their work testify to that. Apart from the difficulty of the technical foundation, the provision of exchangeable parts, their cars are always efficient. Ambulances cannot stop running.

"One matter more: In relation to the program of economizing, a limitation on gasoline has been instituted even among us. This is a misunderstanding, one can economize in another way, in other places, but not in this."

Need for Intraparty Introspection

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 3 Nov 83 p 3

/Interview with the president of the CKR /Central Audit Commission/, Kazimierz Morawski, by Adolf Reut; date and place not given/

/Text/ The recent 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee had exceptional meaning not just for the party. Testimony of this is the enormous revival in intraparty life, also the discussion taking place at the reports-elections meetings and conferences of the PZPR. The deliberations of the plenum devoted to ideological matters pertained essentially to the key problems of the party, to a deeper reflection upon the state of implementation of the Ninth PZPR Congress line. This ensures that one often returns and will continue to return to these deliberations. The conversation of a journalist from PAP with the president of the CKR of the PZPR--Kazimierz Morawski--is precisely evidence of such a return to certain aspects of the discussion at the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee.

/Question/ In your remarks at the plenum one finds, among others, the following statement: "In controlling the implementation on time of the resolutions of the 8th and the 10th plenums of the Central Committee, the audit commissions evinced a sometimes astonishing lack of intraparty introspection." Do not the complications and specific difficulty of the tasks which the party is carrying out from the Ninth Congress at so difficult a time make this charge unjustified? Is there always time for such introspection?

/Answer/ No circumstances nor difficulties can exempt the party from self-meditation, if it is to command, guide and lead the way effectively. On the contrary, the harder such introspection is, the more necessary it becomes. The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Wojciech Jaruzelski, has expressed this truth in his speeches and also at the 13th Plenum. Intraparty introspection--I said at the 13th Plenum--ought to be the guardian of fulfilling not only the resolutions of all echelons but also their spirit, their intentions, so that, above all, one might see the implementation of the resolutions as the instrument of attaining goals.

I admit that the conviction that the characteristics of every stage at which the party finds itself must be conscious all the way is not too universal among party members, not even in the midst of an action group for this. This allows for a better, more regular selection of effective forms and methods of functioning. I want to stress, with total conviction, that the discussions of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, which must be considered in close relation to the 12th Plenum, along with whatever preceded and linked these sessions, created, in

sum, an important level for self-meditation as understood in this way. I also think that this was a moment--necessary for the party--of healthy meditation on what is good and positive in the party, and thus worthy of continuation and enrichment, and also on what is negative, wrong, unjust and so must be combated.

/Question/ The presidency of the CKR in the party surely allows for a deeper look at these phenomena and so for ascertaining the stage at which the party now finds itself in the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress.

/Answer/ From the analyses and industry of the multileveled and multidimensional activity of the control-audit organs of the party, and they are comprised of more than 25,000 activists, it appears that we could describe the present stage most generally as a time, against the background of the recent past, when very positive phenomena are accumulating, but also, one must candidly admit, when negative phenomena are holding their ground, or even returning.

/Question/ Could one ask for a closer characterization of these phenomena?

/Answer/ I will start by separating the positive phenomena from the others. In the first place, one must mention here the program's clarity and the transparency of the intention and the will of the political party. It appears in the authorities' functioning during "the lifting of the curtain." Nothing which does not require secrecy in the name of national reason of state is hidden. The authorities talk with the society about almost all programmatic principles, correcting their intentions honestly if such a need is expressed in the consultations. The formula of the dialogue with partners from other civilian groups--we should not forget--has changed. One can already speak of the coalitional individuality of our cooperation with patriotic groups. A farreaching goal with that is the authenticity of the party's "social alliances," that is, of alliances free of the superfluous tactics and the semblances of action so frequent in the past. Of course, the political party's transparency of intention and will requires plain words and also a great moderation in their use. Exaggerated lipservice and superfluous pomposity, after all, threaten that words will outstrip facts, and also that the restoration of authority will recede in time.

A further positive phenomenon is the party's preference for selected program directions, which is a conscious method insofar as it was imposed by logic and the facts of the crisis period. The party does not hide from society the fact that there is no possibility for a simultaneous attainment of all proper goals. It is simply necessary to choose what is most important. The same goes for consistency and determination in the implementation of the line of reform and of democratic changes. This is a factor which makes the authorities trustworthy, for the system of democracy has, after all, a specific builtin self-regulation of authority in favor of the participation of multitudes of citizens in these processes.

A fundamental matter for the party is a deeper knowledge and ideological awareness among its members. Numerous examples attest that in this matter, much is done even with the consciousness that a lack of profound judgment of the program and the political intentions in the very marrow of ideological principles

threatens a harmful arbitrariness of judgments, a doctrinal voluntarism. Without an active ideological life, the party becomes just one of the many organizing structures of society. And after all, its mandate is the mandate of leadership.

It is also appropriate to take into account the advantageously increasing boldness in the offensive of the party's action group and the activism--evident, if perhaps slow--of the party authorities. This clearly need not indicate that the process of the party's regeneration is already complete. Unfortunately, the inclination toward such an illusion is growing and can become more dangerous in proportion to the further stabilization of the national situation. One can compare this to the situation of an influenza under treatment but not yet totally cured. The efficacy of the party's activity is a matter which all activists of the party's apparatus, every echelon, must remember. I express the view that the "boldness of activity" and the greater mobility of the authorities are just the germ of a long-lasting process which must embrace all POPs and all members of the party. Linked to this is the problem of promotions in positions (truly in the party). This is not a problem soluble in a short period. Self-meditation, which I discussed at the outset, must be connected with this problem, especially because it is an unusually complicated question, so one cannot readily and prematurely decide at a given moment that the party consists exclusively of the best people, as perfect examples for the environment, people who are generous and display a convincing and decent party spirit. The party has begun the moral-ideological regeneration of its ranks--and rightly so--among the directorial personnel. A great many interesting appraisals and tasks were included in this question in the adopted assumptions of personnel politics at the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

/Question/ And what about negative phenomena?

/Answer/ Before trying to enumerate them, I would like to make a necessary remark about methodological, shall we call it, characterization. Every phenomenon, positive or negative, given a lack of systematic analysis, permanent vigilance and care, can--after some time--convert into its opposite. Positive processes can become ruined, can assume a frozen form, metamorphose into a truism.

Negative phenomena, in turn, if we are aware of their sources, can be more efficaciously overcome and can result in positive values. Therefore, I believe that it is a good thing--although this smacks of paradox--that the party is becoming fully aware of the negative phenomena emerging in its existence. Such, after all, is the main task of the control-audit organs of the party, which ought to become better and better seismographs warning of approaching dangers. A great deal of harm is caused, for example, by the tendency, still current, toward hasty generalizations and by the search for spectacular success at any cost. In this context, too, we signal the necessity of avoiding the "meeting-mania" and "resolution-mania" appearing here and everywhere, of avoiding empty talk. Return to a disadvantageous routine hinders billmaking fairness. The party word expressed publicly in the shape of a bill or declaration must unite the echelons and members of the party, must be concrete, real, ensuring tangible results.

Another danger is connected to the fact that in the work of the party organizations, there is not overly universal appreciation of, and devotion of attention to, the social factor, particularly in political activity. All the social commissions, in the echelons as well as in the central party, must be authentic coplanners of the party's everyday activities. In this respect, much has changed in the party, but, for example, the plenary bodies of many stages or of many fundamental organizations are still stuck in their individual "lethargy," in waiting for something to happen on its own. The matter of communicating party speeches and actions requires improvement all the time. The situation in the party would improve much more quickly if the action group could in a widespread way make its generous politicosocial intentions concrete accurately and effectively, in accord with general and local needs. Yet it is known that the party is under permanent universal observation. The concreteness of its undertakings and its insistence on the people's actual work problems most effectively bring people around. As members of the party, being in the midst of the people, we must remember that whether we want them to or not, they will identify us with the party as a whole.

Much yet remains to be done in the sphere which I would describe as the appropriate performance of the controlling role in relation to social and national processes. Likewise, the party must itself be willing to submit to control and to benefit fully from statutory powers and also from the responsibilities of supervision related to the implementation of its own decisions and resolutions. There is not yet as much of this inclination to submission in the party as is necessary. External control, like the attitude of self-observation, is forcing its way through, here and there, with some support. As the leading force in society and the guide of the nation, the party must be sensitive in the highest degree to the least symptom of dangers. For regardless of the origins of evil, the odium of criticism--not always just or well-founded--is primarily directed at the party.

In this light especially, I can assure you that the control-audit organs of the PZPR are most sensitive; they try to be an apparatus of early warning indispensable to the party. We should rejoice that at the discussion of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee all these matters were spoken of so widely, critically and self-critically. I express the conviction that the reports-elections campaign in the PZPR, being likewise a moment of intraparty introspection, will deepen the results of this discussion, will spread its experiences, which are most valuable because they are drawn from the circles of party activity, from the region and from the basic party organizations, which are, after all, closest to the problems pervading the working class.

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PROBLEM OF DIVORCING ECONOMICS FROM POLITICS VIEWED AT PZPR SEMINAR

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5-6, 8 Nov 83

[Article by Kazimierz Doktor: "The Mechanisms of the Reform and the Mechanisms of Power"; this text was prepared on the basis of a pronouncement at the conference on "Problems and Prospects of Social Self-Management," organized by the PZPR Central Committee's Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism]

[5-6 Nov 83 p 3]

[Text] Tracing the economic history of state industry in its postwar form, it is not difficult to express the view that rapid economic growth has been accompanied by very many criticisms of the unsatisfactory degree of its development and perhaps even more by numerous attempts at so called improvement of the system of the functioning of the economy, and particularly of the system of planning and management of industry. These attempts grew out of the shortcomings of the socialist economic system and the steady grumbling of disappointed consumers.

All of the reforms, however, had one serious opponent: bureaucratic centralism. The objective reasons for this centralism were the concentration of the industrial means of production. The subjective reasons were the desire of the political elite to govern from one center and to have economic decisions made by politicians. The pulse of the economic reforms, initially strong, died down at the first barriers to extensive development. Politicians tried to jump over or bypass these barriers with the help of various financial and legal maneuvers, but were not successful.

Bureaucratic centralism as a logical contradiction to self-management many times turned out to be the victor in battles and skirmishes for the independent position of worker council activists and their designated functions. Abandoning promises to make enterprises economically autonomous was at the same time a political act blocking the self-management of the work force. Without legal and economic possibilities to undertake the initiative there is no political possibility for self-management of the work force.

In order to realize the superior goals of effective management it is necessary to meet many conditions, three of which seem to be the most important: the leading role of the party, independence of the enterprise and self-management of the work force.

The implementation of economic reforms until now has always been forced by at least two major factors: a halt in economic growth which caused a decline in the population's real income, and the weakness of political management of the economy. The inability of chief organs of political power and central organs of economic administration to steer the economy led to a critical evaluation of the former system of management which rested in the hands of politicians and managers, and to the proclamation of new reform projects, which often began with a replacement of the governing team and the managerial cadre, the revolting work force or inefficient links.

Today, after three years of social and economic crisis and long discussions about the directions of the economic reform, we are also paying attention to the mechanisms of the political system and the mechanisms of power, so that the achievement of the reform would be permanent, matching the growing and dramatically disappointed yearnings of Poles.

The thesis that the party, which is the main social force in building socialism, must retain two types of rule within the economic system, economic and political, therefore is very important. It is especially necessary because of the opposition's dream of depoliticizing economic management. The opposition wanted to deprive the party of any influence in economic matters altogether, deprive workplaces of party organizations, eliminate the party nomenklatura and reject permanently the principle according to which consecutive party congresses determine the strategy of economic development. The purpose of these ideas of the opposition was, first of all, to weaken those institutions by which the party executes its political rule in the economic system, and then, under the pretense of socializing its activities, place its activists in the positions in the government, regional administration and boards of state enterprises they previously attacked.

Consequently, the party's political rule and leading role in the economy is so important mainly because of the need to adjust this rule and leading role to the present stage of development of the forces of production. It is the stage leading directly to the need to eliminate the bureaucratic system of management and the directive-command system.

At this point we ought to touch upon the subject of mutual relations between the party and the central economic administration in the process of reforming the economic system. I realize that it is a thorny subject, and a very important one at the same time, because the economic reform--besides Sejm statutes and new financial-economic mechanisms--has clear political aspects. There is no reason to turn our backs on what is nothing other than political activity in the economic system. The party is responsible for what happens in the economy, for both successes and failures.

First, we must refer to an old Marxist thesis found in every textbook concerning three types of rule: economic, political and ideological. With regard to the economic system the most important types are the political and economic and their mutual relations in conditions of, on the one hand, an economic crisis, and on the other, a gradual implementation of the economic reform. We must strongly emphasize, even though in a certain sense it is a truism, that the party has its place in the central structure of steering the economic system and cannot be deprived of it.

Nonetheless, the means of carrying out this political rule in the economic sphere is a problem which can and ought to be examined today. It can be done on various levels of generality: on the scale of the whole economic system, its departments, various branch or territorial structures, or the workplace structures. What seems most important is that political rule within the whole economic system be brought down to the tasks of the highest party powers, namely the congress, with regard to determining the structure of the country's socioeconomic development and long term forecasts, programs and plans in the sphere of economic policy. The party should not intervene directly in the governing of the whole economy or particular departments and enterprises; the function and position of the economic administration should be an offshoot of the party's political function as the maker of key economic decisions.

Another thing which deserves attention is the question of the relation between the political authorities, including the party, and the economic administration. If we do not implement fully a complete reform of the central administration--which in the fifties was called the "center of economic management"--then, of course, the reform will be halted midway. The old slogan that the party directs and the government governs is too vague to be repeated here; it belongs to the era which began with successes and ended with an economic crisis.

As far as the whole economic system is concerned, there is a possibility of dividing the functions carried out by the state authorities, namely the Sejm and the government, and the political power, namely the party and particularly its congress. The supremacy of politicians over administrators is certainly unquestionable in the party. On the other hand, the question of how things should look in daily practice remains open, because, among other things, in the Polish economic-political system there still is no clear division of functions, rights and responsibilities. This may be the reason why some elements of this system submit rather unwillingly to various reformatory decisions which would precisely define their place in the overall structure of power.

In order to solve the difficult political problems of the economic reform, it is necessary for the party to abandon current management, or to put it differently--unhitch itself from the function of taking care of production and concentrate on the political functions in the economic system. The political function of the party apparatus and its basic organizations will be

the proof of its proper understanding of political rule in the economy and in society. This variant of a new relation, particularly of the professional party apparatus with the economy, is not being received enthusiastically by conservative forces which have gotten used to commanding and cannot understand that an apparatus so small as that of the party cannot carry out the role of a large state economic apparatus.

Political functions in the economy ought to consist above all in programming, planning and control. The party cannot resign from creating bold programs of socioeconomic development, which are the basis of consecutive plans of long-term development; however, its function ought to end precisely there. The actual economic operations ought to belong--as a result of the division of labor--to the management cadre, to numerous specialists and to administrators. This division of labor is very complex, because in our economy we overrate the functions of planning, and enthusiasm over programs and plans has already led to much neglect in making products so impatiently awaited by consumers.

Even more important are the political functions of party control over the state economic apparatus. Lenin emphasized these functions very strongly by fighting the bureaucratization of the young state apparatus and advocating a system of councils and control functions for the trade unions. In conformity with the principles of the economic reform, the party, without pulling out of the economy, but also without performing economic functions, ought to perform its political functions in the economy. The point is to move on precisely from operative steering to the realization of strategic functions: planning-programmatic and control.

In order for the reform to be implemented, a strong economic law is needed and the political functions ought to be performed precisely within the limits assigned by the law. Thus we ought to declare ourselves in favor not only of a just law guaranteeing enterprises autonomy, but also a law which would curb the arbitrariness of the decisions of political authorities and the central economic administration.

[8 Nov 83 p 4]

[Text] "Getting to self-management" cannot be accomplished without fulfilling probably the most difficult economic condition, the achievement of independence. In the current period, condemnation of centralism by itself does not end pro-centralist attitudes or create a new, decentralized system of economic planning.

The reason for this is fear and the habit of looking to the top, which is hard to shed. The managements of enterprises, associations and ministries always have one level above them, which, in their opinion, can save the weak economy. Even today, when the designers of the new economic system promise to "bring down the fortress of centralism," and, indeed, when an economic reform, for the first time, has begun with a reconstruction of the ministerial system of management, the executive organizations continue to

stand with "guns at the ready" and wait for a directive. In fact the directive has already been issued: be independent. The response, however, continues to be feeble.

In the difficult period of searching for ways out of the economic depression it seems that the old directive-command system, called a system of administration, cannot be effective. On the other hand, since the system of parameters was mishandled in the period of economic maneuvering at the close of the unfinished [unintelligible] reform, we must find other solutions. The first one brings us, perhaps, close to the "economics of war socialism"--namely centralization of some decisions because of drastically limited resources, for the purpose of restoring the economic balance. Another solution, one with, perhaps, a longer perspective, is a mixed system of management based on the rationality of market and planning mechanisms, so characteristic of the socialist economy, which unites these two contradictory methods of management.

One way or the other, without freeing enterprises from the chains of centralism and "getting to self-management," there is no chance for any self-management of the work force. In the concern over the politically and economically difficult construction of enterprise democracy and the self-management of enterprise work forces, autonomy must be seen as the preliminary condition.

To be sure, the way to achieving results leads through harmonious cooperation. We are dealing here, however, with new conditions for this cooperation, which consist of separating the administrative and political functions very clearly in order to permit cooperation without blurring responsibility. To put it differently: enterprise echelons of party organizations have a political function in enterprises, but they ought to carry it out in a more indirect way, without succumbing to the the old practices of giving commands and managing.

On the other hand, directors must display more independence as well as an ability to listen to the the opinions of the work force. It is the old problem of reconciling two rationalities: the enterprise's and the work force's. One thing, however, is certain: a director who is alienated from the work force and who places himself above it, like a captain on the captain's bridge, will not only fail to gain respect and trust, but will also lose his chance at skillful management. Thus a director's political activity consists, among other things, of respecting his work force and its representative organs, including the party, trade unions and worker self-management.

On the road to achieving political results, the role of directors ought to consist of assuring the economic independence of enterprises, because an enterprise ruled by superior organs can only fake self-management. Combining self-financing with self-management is financially hazardous, but at the same time it is an incentive for those who believe in their own strength, collective resourcefulness and the possibility for dividing what has been earned. The state of things today forces directors to cautious rationality,

which consists of helping rather than impeding the development of self-management.

Here, however, I must make a sour observation on the practice which follows the formal acceptance of the activity of self-management organs. Some of them got to like independence in decisionmaking so much that they ignore the resolutions of political and state authorities. It can be assumed that this tactic does not promote a democratization of labor relations and therefore pulls the director and his work force away from the gains of socialist renewal, which has been making its way with such difficulty and under such strong social pressure.

The enterprise's efficiency and the director's individual success will depend also on his ability to establish relations with the other component of the enterprise's political system, namely the trade unions. It is very clear today that the newly created trade unions are sustaining their value as institutions defending employees' interests. Therefore all--even the most unpleasant--historical lessons from the former activity of trade unions must be taken into consideration by the present management cadre.

Fear of self-management is contrary to logic, for even those in the economic cadre who view self-management of the work force with distrust support the decentralization and democratization of management. Their concept of decentralization, however, ends at the point where they themselves take over the powers of their former superiors (mostly--associations). On the other hand, they are very unwilling to pass their own powers--by analogical principle--to their own subordinates.

The self-management of the industrial enterprises' work forces is a difficult problem to solve, and we, Polish Marxists, must roll aside this rock of impotence oppressing the work forces and impeding them from expressing their opinions on all the matters of the enterprises. How do we achieve this? What force can be put into motion to allow the will of the party to be realized in conformity with social needs?

The activity of party organizations ought to consist above all in unceasing and consistent explanation that self-management is not only a political, system-type and legal command of socialism, but also a way of satisfying the needs of employees in managing a work place in their own, well understood interest.

In making work forces aware of their duty in sharing the responsibility for their work places, two points of view on the tasks of worker teams come into collision. The first one, that of the administration, associates the increase in production exclusively with the needs of the central economic plan, often incomprehensible for the work forces. That task belongs to the administration of the enterprise. The second, a social point of view, which is binding on the party, consists of the ability to point out that the employees act also in their group interests by realizing the enterprise's production tasks. After all, good work gives them not only satisfaction but also material benefits for themselves and their families.

Such a stand assumes the political obligation of building the foundations of self-management of working people at the base, in the workshop, in production assembly or work division; near the direct manufacturing of the product, creation of its costs, and creation of worker benefits.

12270

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SIWICKI OUTLINES ROLE OF ARMED FORCES IN SOCIALIST STATE

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 9, Sep 83 pp 5-15

[Article by Florian Siwicki: "The 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Army: Born of the Will of the Nation"]

[Text] The belief that the present has its roots in the past may incline people today, on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Polish People's Army, to look into the rich history and experiences of our armed forces. Its history, going back to the times before its founding as well as in our own times, contains many valuable and relevant lessons. The Polish Army is indeed the people's army--its liberating armed action, active participation in social revolution and in the creation and preservation of popular rule were an important active factor in the historical revolution in Polish history. Poland, in its new form, did not come into being spontaneously, after all. It was born on the battlefields of World War II, especially the all-important Eastern Front. The Polish soldier also made an important contribution to Poland's re-emergence in its present form. Thus, the army's anniversary is a time for deep reflection on the role of the Polish Peoples' Army, in a historical, contemporary context, in the life of the people and their socialist state. This is also a good occasion for returning well-deserved satisfaction to the political forces and people whose programs and actions gave birth to and developed the new armed forces of a new Poland.

The Lineage and Character of the Polish People's Army

The origin of the Polish People's Army is closely associated with the fight for national liberation from the Nazi invader as well as the struggle for social liberation, the liquidation of the capitalists' and landowners' domination and the formation of a new and democratic Polish state.

Our army was born of ardent patriotism and the unbreakable will of our people to fight for freedom. The Polish people, despite the bitterness of their catastrophic defeat in the 1939 invasion, never gave up their struggle for independence.

The fight against the Nazi occupation became the patriotic duty of every Pole. At the same time, a new arrangement of political forces came into being as a result of the experiences of September 1939. The questions of how the defense of Poland failed in 1939 became a source of national reflection, formed the

basis of all political programs at that time for regaining independence and gave the people a vision of what Poland could be like after the war.

History has shown that the political forces that set up and directed the emigre Polish government in the West as well as its policies in occupied Poland were incapable of standing up to the tests of the times. The London government's championing of a doctrine of two enemies and its anti-Sovietism contributed nothing to the liberation of Poland, nor did these attitudes add anything to its chances of establishing lasting elements of its policy in postwar Poland.

Under the given situation, political thinking was ripening and the concept of struggle of the Polish left wing, chiefly represented by the workers' party, the Polish Workers' Party [PPR], was born. Out of an earnest Marxist-Leninist assessment of the situation, the PPR formulated a new revolutionary concept uniting Polish independence and social liberation. Bringing to life the Polish peoples' struggle for independence and freedom, the PPR called out for an active and armed mass struggle by all patriotic forces of the nation and for basing this struggle on alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, which was bearing the main burden of the war against German fascism.

Arguing the need for a maximum effort by all of society to gain independence and showing the chances for bringing about national unity, the PPR found the goals of struggle in unity and in the particular conditions of the German occupation. The most important historical task, the liberation of Poland, united all Poles in spite of everything else that divided them. In this way, the PPR joined national patriotism and worker internationalism in the solid foundations of its own political and strategic concepts.

A similar position on Polish independence was also represented by the Polish communists in the Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR. This made it possible to unite all of the patriotic and revolutionary hopes of the Polish people and to set up armed units in occupied Poland, such as the Peoples' Guard and, later, the Peoples' Army. In the Soviet Union, this led to the beginnings of the Kosciuszko Division and then the Polish Army, which were the pillar of the Polish Peoples' Army.

The establishment in such a short time of a new Polish army as an important force in the coalition against Hitler would have been impossible without the comprehensive help of the Soviet Union. The agreement given by the Soviet Government to the formation of Polish military units within the Soviet Union was in itself a decision of great political importance. This meant that the Soviet Government would provide political and military support to the Polish Left and its political and social program. This also meant a greater fighting role for the Polish people in the fight against Nazi Germany.

The Soviet Union supplied our troops with gear, weapons and full equipment. It sent many thousands of its own officers and instructors to serve in the Polish units. Their knowledge and combat experience, personal example and attitudes not only contributed to the quick growth in numbers and fighting quality of our troops, but also helped form its character and ideology.

The ideas of independence and socialism could be united only in an army with the basic framework of a command cadre drawn from the social classes interested in the creation of a socialist society, thus mainly the proletariat, peasantry and the revolutionary intelligentsia. There came into being an army in which the officers and privates, the commander and his subordinate, were not and are not divided by position or birth and for whom the goal and meaning of battle, service and work were and are the same.

The historically-shaped character of our armed forces determine its place and function in the social and political life of our nation and socialist state.

In the Mainstream of the Nation and State

The Polish Peoples' Army is the busy successor of all that is progressive in the patriotic tradition of our people. Piously preserved and creatively developed are the armed feats of Poles in defense of their threatened fatherland, and the rich cultural and material tradition. The civilized achievements of generations are multiplied and democratic, patriotic and civic-minded educational standards are cultivated.

The historical ties of the army to the people, workers, peasants and all working people are preserved with the greatest care. This is most distinctly expressed in the background of army personnel, especially its professional cadre, in its functions, in the role it plays in the outcome of the nation's complicated social, political, and economic situation, in defending national interests, and in the care it takes in preserving the internal and external security of the nation, its stability and unhindered development.

In the dramatic events of the late 1970's and early 1980's, when the foundations of socialist democracy and Poland's regular social development were disrupted, the army's traditions of class cooperation with workers and peasants did not weaken. In the great battle over social renewal and the creation of a just social and economic order and new mechanisms of government meeting the peoples' aspirations, the value of the army increased. With the socialist state and the nation endangered by counterrevolution, the army took upon its own back responsibility for the fate of the Polish people. The army did not stand alone in this time of trials. From the very beginning, the most patriotic forces of society gave their moral and political support. This cooperation between the army and patriotic forces produced the creative idea of a national agreement and the one proper direction for leading the nation along the road to socialist renewal was traced.

The role and tasks of the Polish Peoples' Army in the social and political life of the nation and socialist state are above all defined by the fact that the army is a new type, that it is the army of a socialist state. Treating the strengthening of state defenses and the preservation of the vital interests of the people as its chief mission, the army also broadly participates in the nation's social and political life and engages considerable forces and resources in hastening Poland's social and economic development. This development is in the interests of the army and the present-day demands of national defense and of society as a whole.

An important element was the assumption that the Polish army being formed in the Soviet Union was not only a fighting unit but also the nucleus for the armed forces of the future Polish state. This was made evident by the establishment within the Soviet Union of training centers for units and tactical formations of the armed forces branches and service branches as well as a system of military training.

The goals and programs of the PPR and Polish communists in the Soviet Union determined the new social background of the armed forces being set up. The new army that came into being to liberate the occupied country also became the main agent and instrument of the Polish revolution. The communists were able to give the soldiers a vision of a democratic Poland and an image of their country in which the working masses will become the masters and creators of the nation's future. They were able to ingrain the troops with faith in their own power and to convince them of the need and advantages of a fraternal tie to the Soviet Union. Finally, they succeeded in forming a group of people of very different views, beliefs and attitudes into a tight and politically unified armed force, aware of its mission and role of service to the people and nation.

The realization of these very same social and ideological principles made the Polish Army a new type of army from the very start.

Having fought during the war to liberate its nation from Nazi occupation and having then guarded the sovereignty of the independent state, the Polish Peoples' Army identifies itself with all people to whom independence was and is dear. This is what makes it a national army and not only a state institution but a national, unique emanation of the nation's aspirations for independence. In this sense, our army goes back to the traditions of national liberation of the distant and recent past.

As the inheritor of Polish feats during World War II, it unbreakably unites the armed effort of September 1939, the resistance movement within Poland and the Polish units that were fighting in the west with the fighting deeds of the Polish Left, giving them the common national dimension known in history as the armed feats of the Polish people. At the same time, the Polish Peoples' Army, as a revolutionary army, was and is the agent of progressive social change. In fighting for an independent state, it also struggled for its new socialist form and for social reform. The army can thus be traced back to the traditions of radical movements in the national uprisings, revolutionary workers' movement, Polish units that fought for the October Revolution and the Spanish republic.

It can be laconically said that the Polish Peoples' Army, born of the spirit of socialist revolution, has not only become an integral part of revolution, but a factor strongly accelerating the process of revolutionary change in Poland and the guardian of society's revolutionary achievements. These same factors have set the socialist character of the Polish Peoples' Army and are the key to understanding the slogan: "Defend socialism as independence." Socialism and independence are one in the pedigree and modern life of our army.

The Polish Peoples' Army, starting from nothing at all, formed a nationally-recognized scientific community able to train cadres that has made an original contribution to the development of learning, to solving the complex problems of modern equipment and technology that serve the national defense and the nation's social and economic needs alike. Part of this is the mass nature of higher education of the professional cadre which has shown great scientific accomplishments in many fields and has been the source of much creative ambition and hope. The army has an ever-increasing number of good organizers and people with broad intellectual horizons. Scholars in uniform with professional titles, builders and specialists in advanced sciences are serving and aiding the nation with the fruits of their work.

All of this has evolved the forms and broadened the scale of the army's direct involvement in finding solutions to our nation's technical, scientific and economic problems. The benefits that the army is bringing to the nation are leading more and more in the direction of science, research, development, innovation and systems development. This means that the nature of the army's work is increasingly on a large technical and organizational scale.

The changes taking place in this realm are clearly illustrated by numerous, concrete examples. Many problems of importance on a national scale are being undertaken and solved within the scientific and research work conducted by the army. This includes the research that the Army Technical Academy [WAT] is conducting in the field of laser devices that can be used in science, industry and medicine. The Army Technical Academy is also developing technologies that will enable removing accretions from rotary furnaces without having to cool them down, working on explosive pipe binding in power plant boilers and heat exchangers, container brazing, metal component gluing, etc. The academy's work that has been used in the mining industry is also well known: this work has included crump detection, underground radio communications, shaft sinking, etc. The result of research work that has been done by scientists at the Navy Institute of Higher Learning is a new, completely automated ship's engine room. It has begun to be used in commercial shipping. Other work by military specialists that has come into use in the mining industry includes: devices for locating people trapped in collapsed mines, mine fire-fighting equipment, methods for detecting and indicating sources of toxic gases, a high-output method for crushing rock and many others.

Military biomedical work has also had many achievements of great significance in the civilian sector. Civilian health services are using methods and equipment to provide fast and effective medical aid in life-endangering cases of poisoning, disease and strokes, and applying the results of research on body resistance phenomena to infectious disease and increasing the ability and stamina of the human organism in situations of extreme difficulty. Worth mentioning are other items such as the development and introduction to medicine of surgical glues and domestically-produced collagens, the accomplishments of research on the biological action of microwaves and their effects upon people working under exposure to them, and studies conducted on health protection for exposure to hyperbarium. Sports and civilian aviation personnel are also benefiting from air force medical research on methods of diagnosis, disease prevention and therapy.

The national economy is becoming increasingly interested in the accomplishments of military science and research and especially technical and organizational innovations that are applicable to civilian industries. Numerous experiences have already shown that military innovations have had a positive effect on the technology and economy not only of individual plants, but of entire branches and industries of the national economy.

The army's participation in investment to aid industry and agriculture and the construction of bridges, roads, transportation and railway lines has been considerable. The army has undertaken work in very important areas where good organization and a high level of work discipline are required. We now see soldiers on all important construction sites. The army has contributed much to the construction industry. It has turned over a large number of transport vehicles, provides repair and production service, and has supplied equipment, spare parts and materials.

Also of a deeply humanitarian nature is the part taken by all military circles in the realization of socially beneficial initiatives of the National Health Care Fund, the Monument and Hospital Construction Fund, the Polish Mothers' Health Center, blood donations and orphan care. The comprehensive participation of the army in work for the economy and for the development of science and technology is harmoniously combined with an ambitious system of ideological and social education in the armed forces, which are an important element of the national educational front.

For military as well as general social reasons, we regard the education of soldiers and the problems of the development of culture and establishing socialist principles of social relations as matters of the utmost importance. Ideological, political and military training serve these goals. In our training work we use documents that are unique in their content, such as: "The Principles of the Ethics and Customs of the Professional Cadre of the Polish Peoples' Army," "Military Ceremony," and "A Program for the Development of Culture in the Armed Forces." This has produced positive changes in the awareness of soldiers and given them mature attitudes in their everyday life. The recent period has fully confirmed this.

The army's role of serving the nation give its troops a feeling of socialist patriotism and personal responsibility for the fate of their country. They learn self-sacrifice in their work and service. The army teaches young Poles to be law-abiding citizens. It awakens and engrains them with social activism and teaches them the habits of good discipline. They are instilled with respect for work, honesty, reliability and modesty.

For many youths, the army is also an institution that opens the road to professional, social and cultural advancement. The modern quality of the army and its high level of technology create manifold possibilities for thousands of young people to acquire the high qualifications needed in many areas of the national economy. Led by its social concern, the army has widely disseminated polytechnical learning among its troops. It prepares many specialists to meet the needs of the civilian economy and makes an important contribution toward feeding the organism of society with people of action and good workers.

Well within the mainstream of the life of the nation and state, the Polish Peoples' Army fulfills an unusually important integrating function in relation to youth and, indirectly, all of society. "In the ranks of our army," said General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, "thousands of soldiers stand side by side. They come from various communities, professions and regions, and from various political, social and professional organizations. Together, they fraternally serve the peoples' fatherland. They share their concern for Poland's socialist future and its safe, peaceful and industrious existence."

This is the source of cohesion and unity among the troops. This forms the basis for the system of training and military education. It unites all troops regardless of their social, professional and cultural differences or outlook.

The modern quality of the armed forces and their ability to work out unique solutions to many problems not only aid the national defense but also serve the nation through their dissemination in society and everyday life. Our experience has been used in such areas as the working out of modified methods for directing and administering the national economy. In the government's thrift and anti-inflation programs, there are being used many elements that have been successfully implemented for many years within the army's system of efficient management. After a certain amount of adaptation, they have been transferred from our armed forces for use in the civilian community. These borrowed elements include a model for a system of inspection and control, principles of the political cadre and professional ethics for state cadres.

At the beginning of the 1980's and as a result of the well-known troublesome development of the situation in our country, there were some important transvaluations made in the internal functioning of the Polish army. These were dictated by the greater needs of the state. To counteract the real dangers threatening the state and prevent a national catastrophe, martial law was introduced. This placed a burden of extraordinarily difficult tasks on the army.

The actions of the army were in the best interests of the nation and were in keeping with its constitutional responsibility to protect Poland's sovereignty and the safety of its citizens. The army's political maturity enabled it to fulfill its task with honor. Its patriotic attitude earned it public recognition and added to its position of respect and authority in the nation and abroad.

Putting a stop to unbridled anarchy and to efforts to tear down the structure of the socialist Polish state and the routing of counterrevolutionary forces set the conditions in which social and political life in the country could return to normalcy and made possible the beginnings of a great national act to correct the state of the republic.

In their realization of these tasks, the armed forces acquired many valuable experiences that were profitable to the process of socialist renewal of life in our country. These experiences will serve well the realization of the program set forth by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR.

At the present time, the armed forces have taken a different line of action, but our troops will never be indifferent to the nation's crucial matters and the good of the public. Their concern for the welfare of the nation comes from the choice of ideology made by soldiers when the peoples' armed forces came into being to enter the struggle for national liberation, the construction of a socialist state, and the program set by the workers' party.

The army's idealism and engagement in the nation's affairs is therefore a very natural thing and is also a result of the new socialist character of our army and its function. These attributes lend as much to the strength of our army as its weaponry and we regard it with as much concern. The deeply patriotic attitudes of our troops reveal themselves in their everyday work in training and their motivation to self-sacrificing, faithful service to their fatherland and people. The army's system of ideological and political training well serves the development and lasting qualities of these patriotic attitudes. Party organizations and echelons are the important link in training. PZPR candidates and members are marked by deeply-felt ardor and commitment. As usual, they hold the most difficult posts and stand in the first line.

The cohesion and vigor of the army's party organization and its faithfulness to the principles of Marxism-Leninism have made the army community a living and sensitive tissue in the fabric of the nation and have given it a place of honor in Poland's most recent history. The army's authority has been further strengthened. The ideological principles of the cadre have been reinforced. The role of party organizations has been increased in all units and institutions of the army.

The party has had and continues to enjoy strong support from the worker-peasant army, the armed voice of the people. We have shown this many times. We regard service to the nation and peace within it as important as defending its borders. We are completely aware that we can guarantee the peaceful future and hopes of our socialist fatherland only by exemplary fulfillment of our duties. This gives rise to our sincere conviction that socialism must be defended as our nation's independence.

What made it possible for the Polish army to meet its hard tasks both before and during the period of martial law?

Undoubtedly, the strongest factor was its moral purity, ideological cohesion and political stability. These qualities gave it its strength to resist the destabilizing effects of counterrevolution on the socialist state and its institutions.

The army's natural attributes, such as its high degree of organization, order and precision of action, had an important effect upon the way it faced up to its hard trial. Rational organization of army life and troop training fostered this. Finally, this gives our troops a good mastery of the art of war, which is repeatedly confirmed in numerous situations and practice field examinations. This shows itself in mastery of modern combat gear, psychological and physical toughness, endurance and the will to perform every task perfectly.

Guarding Peace and Security

Poland has and must have a good army. It was the Polish army and its actions at the end of World War II that largely decided Poland's place in Europe. Its combat readiness and loyalty to the Warsaw Pact alliance have strengthened our awareness of the fact that we are, as a people, a willing partner of the socialist defensive coalition. For the Polish people, who have so often been victims of invasion and for the Polish state, which has erased from the map of Europe so many times, the Polish Peoples' Army is the best guarantee of the permanence of the socialist Polish state, Polish sovereignty and the inviolability of Poland's borders, and the peaceful and safe life of its people.

The political goals of our state, stemming from the character of its social and political order, were the basic factors determining the nature of our defensive doctrine. This doctrine sprang from Poland's experiences, both historical and recent. On a military level, the keystone of our doctrine is to maintain, within our economic possibilities, our armed forces at a proper level of readiness to meet any threats to state security.

The development of the international situation after World War II, and especially the establishment by the imperialist states of the openly aggressive NATO Pact, made necessary the creation of a defensive alliance of socialist states. This idea was embodied in the establishment of the Warsaw Pact in May 1955. In the face of the real threat to our community and world peace then, the Warsaw Pact, as a counterbalance to the aggressive NATO Pact, became the guarantee of our collective security.

In a military sense, the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact meant a new stage in the cooperation of armies of the socialist states, based on principles of free will and coalition. This has fostered continuing unity among the forces of the socialist commonwealth and their most effective use for defense of our community.

The logical consequence of concluding a political and military alliance was the preparation of a uniform, coalitional defensive doctrine. However, the existence of such a doctrine does not mean a resignation from national doctrines. Aside from the obligatory terms of the coalition, a given state has provisions for its own defensive needs. In the case of Poland, its doctrine is the result of its position in Europe, its human, economic and scientific potential, national tradition and many other factors.

The tasks entailed by Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact have left their mark on our system of defenses. It consists of two closely connected and complementary pacts, both domestic and foreign.

The accepted concept of national defense, which assumes unity in both national and coalitional goals, has made it possible to work out a modern solution to two basic problems of defense: proper preparation of armed forces for action within a coalition, and insuring the cohesion of a domestic defense based upon a military and civilian pact.

It is obvious in this case that the armed forces are the foundation of this defensive system. They must always be completely ready to perform the tasks laid down by accepted principles of doctrine. All actions aimed at improving our armed forces are for this purpose. It is a complicated process subject to many factors, both external and internal. The scale of our military effort is always a function of the degree of external danger and the nation's economic and technological possibilities.

Reorganizations such as those conducted by our army during the postwar years, made in response to growing threats from the imperialist powers, have brought about considerable changes in the make-up and structure of our army and the particular branches of service, as well as in their equipment.

The present stage in the army's technical development is primarily one of changes in systems of reconnaissance, command and control. The rapid development of electronics and laser technology as well as automation and data processing has brought about radical changes in the present form of our armed forces.

The equipping of our army with new technological systems has been accompanied by an improvement in the level of its general military, command, specialist, ideological and political preparation.

The high assessment received by the Polish Peoples' Army during Warsaw Pact exercises confirm the high level of combat and organizational ability, skill on the modern battlefield and mastery of contemporary combat equipment that our troops have attained. Our army, with its level of combat training, organizational ability, discipline and high state of ideological and political cohesion, has made an important contribution to strengthening the defensive strength of our coalition and to the preservation of peace as well.

This has become especially important at the present time. On the other side of the Atlantic and in some states of Western Europe, there have already been official calls for an anticommunist crusade, and they have been more than mere rhetoric. They are accompanied by a military buildup that is unprecedented in its pace and dimension.

The program for developing a strategic system of MX missiles, the extension of the arms race to space, the U.S.-dictated decision to deploy the American Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, and the practical preparation being undertaken to install them before the year is out are all steps aimed at upsetting the military balance in the world, which is the foundation for preserving peace, and continuing the nuclear arms spiral.

Poland has a special place in NATO planning. Not only are the new rockets deployed against us, but we are also the target of economic war and propaganda, unprecedented in scale.

The realization of an arms program on an enormous scale, policy of confrontation, intervention and the open interference of the NATO states, especially the United States, in the internal affairs of sovereign nations have made the strengthening of our defensive coalition extremely important.

The history of the entire period following World War II has proved beyond all doubt that, with the world divided, the one force effectively impeding the imperialist push and protecting the world against the cataclysm of a nuclear war is definitely the peace policy of the socialist commonwealth states supported by the capabilities and harmonious strength of their defensive alliance, the Warsaw Pact. This is what gives people hope for the preservation of peace.

For 40 years, the Polish Peoples' Army has unfailingly served the fatherland. It has protected the independence of our people and made a valuable contribution to the development of the socialist state, to social life, economic progress, science, culture and to the shaping of the public awareness. The Polish soldier is always on the first line, facing every need of society. For him, there is no other goal than the good of the people.

The past 40 years have seen great accomplishments from the toil of combat and works of peace. This has been exemplified by the process of intense development and changes that have made our army strong and modernized it.

We have a long road behind us. What was previously accomplished toward making our army what it is today was brought about by the work of our forebears. Such is the logic of progress and development. This also proves that there have been no meaningless days or time lost in the history of the Polish Peoples' Army.

The scale of achievements in the past 40 years, the experience gained and the level of development attained form a strong basis for new tasks and more ambitious goals. We still have before us further improvement in the organizational and substantial activities of the armed forces. We will undertake this task with full awareness of domestic and foreign conditions.

The Polish Peoples' Army, born of the patriotic struggle of the people, will now as always do its added service in the name of the ultimate goal, the safety and welfare of the people. We are and will remain the ideological, moral, political and armed mainstay of socialist Poland, the powerful, unfailing link in the socialist defensive alliance, the Warsaw Pact, which is the guarantor of world peace.

12261

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PARTY CRITICISM EVOKES POLEMIC

Kwiatkowski's Thesis Supported

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 43, 26 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Edward Grzelak: "Then What Is This Apparatus Like?"]

[Text] The party apparatus plays an essential role in every party, and also in ours. It often predetermines the party's mobility and effectiveness. Society understandably often assesses the party in terms of the apparatus, and sometimes even individual representatives of it. It is thus sometimes a sort of testimony to it. Consequently, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the subject of the "party apparatus" is always current in many circles. As experience shows, it is particularly brought up in precrisis and crisis situations.

After August 1980 a great deal was written about the apparatus. The themes of this criticism varied. Most often, however, what was written was negative, and it was rarely objective. The party apparatus was made responsible for everything: the crises of past years and the present crisis, the isolation of part of the former leadership of the party and state, the abuses by certain formerly prominent people, etc. Was this correct? But in fact, a large part of the central and territorial apparatus displayed uncritical submission with respect to the members of the former leadership. An equally large part of the party apparatus, however--and this should be remembered--accepted the E. Gierek regime with major reservations, disapproved of the violations of legality after the 1976 Radom events, and did not approve of the policy of this regime.

The criticism within this part of the party cadre intensified before the Eighth Party Congress and after it. At that time, precisely within the party apparatus, a great deal was said about the need for changes in the sociopolitical life of the country and in economic policy, and about the renewal of the party and its return to a Leninist course. Essentially, these were pronounced internal party movements debating what were after all various themes and nuances originating in the policy, and also the personnel policy, of the party leadership at that time. They coincided with the August workers' protest.

That was how it was. Later, after August 1980, major changes took place in the party apparatus. Some left, many were promoted, and a lot of people came from the apparatus of the youth organizations. These were very often changes for the better.

So what is this party apparatus like? This question is being repeated in various circles. Interest in this question has also been expressed in the article published by S. Kwiatkowski. It also makes a certain attempt to answer.

In general, answering this question is difficult, for at least two reasons. There is a lack of comprehensive research and assessments, even published for internal party use. But answering is also difficult because every attempt at any kind of assessment of the apparatus evokes discussions, and critical comments evoke strong reactions from representatives of this apparatus. I think, however, that the subject of the party apparatus should not be a forbidden topic.

I have had and I have close contacts with both the central and the regional party apparatus. I see it to some extent from both inside and outside. I have numerous friends among the workers in the apparatus. I have been interested in this subject for a long time. Many apparatus workers are aware of this.

I ask similar questions. Last year I asked a friend of mine, a Central Committee employee, what he thought about the party apparatus. At first he answered more or less as follows: it is highly varied, from every point of view--intellectual, organizational capabilities, involvement, etc. Later he justified this. Our views were in agreement.

To simplify the matter somewhat, in the present party apparatus of the central and regional echelons there are many outstanding workers who meet all of the high formal and ethical demands, but also those posed by the current situation in the country and in the individual voivodships. There are also many outstanding and good devoted ones, both "old" and new, both of mature age and quite young. I meet both in the Central Committee and in the PZPR CKR [Central Committee Audit Commission], the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission], the IPPM-L [Institute for Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism], and the WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences]. I have met them in the voivodship committees in Koszalin, Poznan, Szczecin, and Gdansk.

I have known many sensible workers in the party apparatus of ROPP's regional party work centers, city committees, district committees, city-district committees, and plant committees. Let me just recall the workers of the committees of the Kolobrzeg region. There were fundamental changes there after the 1981 reports-electoral campaign. The renewed groups consisting of "old" and new workers, cooperating in harmony, turned out to be a force for instituting socialist renewal. This year, after a year and a half, I visited many of these comrades, and had many talks. There is a new style of work and party activity there. The Kolobrzeg activists say that the apparatus workers, those elected and those appointed, have not disappointed the expectations of the echelons.

Not all of them are like that, however. Within the party apparatus, which after all is at all levels, there are also many workers, even devoted ones, who are nevertheless average and below average, and sometimes even poor. Obviously the concept of the average is a relative one. I am measuring them in relation to the outstanding and very good ones, in accordance with my own image of what kind of cadre the party needs in the country's present political and economic situation. Thus, by the way, it is entirely in accordance with the requirements set by S. Kwiatkowski in this respect. I will omit descriptions of the weaknesses of this part of the apparatus, which appears to be quite numerous. Such a description is superfluous. T. Kolodziejczyk observes correctly in ZYCIE PARTII that the apparatus workers "know a great deal, and know better than anyone else the weaknesses of the apparatus and all the complexities of high-level policy."

After all, these weaknesses are discussed by the PZPR Central Audit Commission's postinspection protocols, and they appear indirectly from protocols of the ISZ MON [Armed Forces Inspectorate of the Ministry of National Defense], and now also GIT [Main Territorial Inspectorate]. The press has written about them, including the party press, and leading party activists have discussed them in interviews or talks with journalists.

In the second half of 1982 and the first half of 1983, I had an opportunity to visit the Gdansk Voivodship Committee and observe the work of part of its apparatus. I hoped to see the endeavors of solid party work there. I would be lying if I said that I did not see any examples of such work. There is a lot of it, both in the voivodship committee, and in the Portowa city section committee and the plant committees of the Gdansk and Polnocna shipyards. There are experienced and very sensible apparatus workers there. My notes from the visit to Gdansk, however, also include such observations as the following: in some voivodship committee workers, who are also under consideration in view of the position taken, enthusiasm and involvement are not matched by a sufficient sense of responsibility; they exaggerate and frighten each other with revisionist and opportunistic forces, although the advocates of these are outside the party, and meanwhile they play down the consequences of conservative thought, or do not perceive them at all; they are "real communists," and ideological advisors of this type are bustling about; some of the workers rely too much on the activities of subordinate forces, and forget about their own mission; some voivodship committee workers are too absorbed in "resolving" personnel matters, which has a negative effect on the work of the aktiv, and there is little help for the shipyard.

During my visits to Gdansk, it was sometimes difficult for me to escape the impression that in the work of several comrades from the voivodship committee, the main tasks, such as work on strengthening party organizations, searching for ways to restore severed or impaired ties with the working class, propagandizing the party's program, and working toward the isolation of seditious forces, have almost been on a secondary level.

It would be difficult for me not to share the reflections of one of the members of the party at the Gdansk shipyard, who stated in connection with the decision to militarize the shipyard: "This decision also implies an assessment

of our shipyard party organization, and its plant committee, but also of the voivodship echelon in Gdansk." For example, it does not surprise me that M. Rakowski's meeting in the shipyard took place. But the course of it confirms my observation that the voivodship echelon is doing too little to help the shipyard plant committee to equip party organizations for the political struggle with extremist agitators.

In April 1983, I had an opportunity to meet with one of the voivodship committees in the course of a nationwide tour with a large group of organizers of party ideological work from all over the country. What happened? The predominant group was the activists who understood the essence of the political struggle, but there was also no lack of those whose knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is limited to knowledge of several of its main theses, with these sometimes being incorrectly interpreted. They have recognized the revolutionary catchword as their weapon. They think, for example, that we could quickly solve our problems--social, political, economic, and even ideological--if the party and the state authorities would only be more consistent in using repression against all political and ideological opponents. Unfortunately, they believe only in force, in the effectiveness of action and of exerting influence with the aid of the methods of repression, orders, and administrative prohibitions.

For them--after all, workers on the ideological front--methods of a political and ideological nature are somehow inferior, even though from the nature of things they are precisely the ones who should be characterized by confidence in the effectiveness of ideological and political influence.

Here and there, sharp voices can be heard in opposition to Stanislaw Kwiatkowski's publication "Zagrozenia i szanse" [Threats and Chances] in TU I TERAZ No 35, especially in connection with the sections dealing directly with the party apparatus. It is worth nothing that the criticism dealt not only with the party apparatus, but also with the state administration. As far as I know, however, the representatives of the administration received the criticism calmly; some circles in the party apparatus, however, raised a clamor. They made their excessive sensitivity known.

In my opinion, Kwiatkowski is, to a great extent, correct in this criticism.

I view the matter as the author of "Threats and Chances" does, when he describes the opportunistic-technocratic and conservative-sectarian circles, but also when he indicates the weaknesses of our propaganda. He has good reason to write that the tasks facing the party at this time require that the apparatus have high qualifications, and even the highest possible. Party officials are also necessary. This is true, but not as political workers.

Was S. Kwiatkowski's conviction that "a professional party activist has to be a specialist and a politician, combining the professional and political points of view, strongly rooted in the masses, knowing this type of social work, but also knowing how to organize and manage, mastering the knowledge essential for exercising authority" correct?

I read great concern for the party in all of this. Do those who are expressing opposition perceive it? Are the traits of an apparatus worker cited by S. Kwiatkowski the ones that should undoubtedly distinguish them, the dominant traits among these cadres?

The issue of the work of part of the party apparatus, its professional efficiency, and the "quality" of its work is not being raised in the party for the first time. At one time, at the end of the 1960's, a discussion of this subject also was begun in the party. It was summed up by a report at the Fifth Party Congress. As was customary at that time, probably in order to avoid giving the problem too much stature and a controversial nature, the following was stated: "During the reporting period, in general, the level of the party cadres, particularly with respect to their training and practical experience, was raised considerably, and the number of echelon workers remained at an unchanged level. We consider the individual views heard during the pre-congress discussion demanding an expansion of the party apparatus to be unjustified. Their source is primarily the poor work by certain party committees with the members of the echelons and with the broad social aktiv, without which it is not possible to manage the entire party network."

Later, unfortunately, especially in the decade of the 1970's, there was a considerable expansion of the party apparatus, to an excessive extent in the central body and in the voivodship committees. What is more, the level of these cadres essentially declined. Didn't this have an effect on the condition of the party in the 1970's? But that is less important. Nevertheless, the view expressed in the cited report by the Central Committee at the fifth congress on the sources of the weaknesses of the apparatus is fully relevant. Many of the present apparatus workers do not have such an ability to work with the broad social aktiv.

Obviously, this is not always the fault of these workers; sometimes they do what they can, and are just not capable of much. That was the way the cadres were chosen; often the wages were decisive. They are and were low. Many of them have not and do not realize that "politics," as Lenin says, "is a science and not an art, that does not fall from the sky, and which cannot be mastered without effort." In the past as well as at present, many individuals among them have not spared themselves this effort, but there have also been different ones. The party echelons in the 1970's also did not see the problem in a sufficiently clear light. Therefore, some apparatus workers do not know and do not understand, for example, that "leftist doctrinarianism, not just rightist, is an error."

A great deal of responsibility for this state of affairs is also borne by party education, as well as the situation in the social sciences in general. After all, an inspection such as the one conducted last fall by the PZPR Central Audit Commission at the WSNS indicated defects and shortcomings that had existed for years in the work of that school. These are cadre weaknesses, and therefore program weaknesses, the low level of competence and not always sensible choice of topics for diploma and master's degree studies, the lack of correlation with the needs of the party and the plan for scientific research, and a system and criteria for recruitment for studies that arouse reservations

(for example, there have been cases of echelons getting rid of inconvenient apparatus workers in this manner).

To tell the truth, it should be noted that there are not only critical views with respect to S. Kwiatkowski's article. There are just as many expressing satisfaction that someone has finally told the truth. There are also views from party apparatus workers, and after all S. Kwiatkowski's comments are not so very new. I have recalled that the weaknesses of the party apparatus were also discussed in the pages of the press and more than once in interviews with various party activists. Frequently, critical remarks have come from members of the Central Committee and other members of party echelons, and sometimes even regular members of the party.

Official Defends PZPR Activists

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 43, 26 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by S.K.: "Chances or Threats?"]

[Text] When I started to read the extensive article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski (TU I TERAZ No 35), I expected conclusions matching the title, or at least certain boldface portions of the text. I considered that in my work as an "apparatchik" I would be able not only to share apprehensions with the author, but also to obtain important arguments, proposals for positive decisions, and that I would be able to benefit from his experiences. Imagine my surprise after teaching the end.

I found out that the party apparatus is really responsible for everything bad in Poland; that it is predominantly official, specialized in office work and accustomed to it, capable of working in party, state and economic structures... (i.e., obsolete and inadequate for anything new).

I agree with many of the author's substantive conclusions without reservation, but not with all of them. (Without entering into detailed polemics, however, I would like to call attention at the start to the linguistic oversights, e.g., "basic rudiments" sounds just like "retreating to the rear.")

In particular, I do not agree with the conclusions that the author draws from the great significance of the problems discussed in the article. Ascribing responsibility for everything wrong and for all possible threats to the party apparatus is an unrealistic prejudgment, an exaggeration of its role and capabilities.

Please do not think that "some party official" has taken offense at you. No! You are not the first to make these insinuations. And do not prejudice the political condition of the apparatus, even though such intentions can unfortunately be seen in this article. People did not join the apparatus for money--in my time, obviously--and today it is also not money that decides whether this work will be undertaken, although, to tell the truth, it does have a negative effect on it.

We are undoubtedly characterized by the same shortcomings as the entire society--various personal characteristics, differences in professional training and experience, a lack of talent, or some percentage of ordinary opportunism, but they do not predominate. They do not really count. In spite of the enormous commitment of the main part of the party apparatus, which on the whole is small, and its devoted service to the paramount interests of the party and the socialist state, what is decisive is still the question of the use of this "instrument," and primarily the loyalty of the apparatus to its superiors.

It would probably be difficult for me to interpret everything precisely, and it will be difficult for the author to understand, but this is also a question of the "kitchen." In order to understand the meaning of this, one must necessarily "try" working in the apparatus, only there is no recruitment for it from advertisements.

Describing as nonsense the views presented in the abovementioned article with respect to the party apparatus, and describing as utter nonsense the conclusions leading to an alleged increase in chances and a decrease in threats if changes are made, I will permit myself to call the author's attention to the portion of an interview with Deputy Premier Rakowski that was recently published in POLITYKA. The author of this interview has "experienced" work in the central party apparatus, and--I have no doubt about this--has more of a right to assess it, while Kwiatkowski, I dare say, lacks sufficient knowledge for generalizations like the ones he rashly made. Finally, I would like to note that almost 40 percent of the party apparatus was replaced in the years 1980-1983, and that 90 percent of the secretaries of the echelons are new people. Should these changes also have been used against the apparatus?

The insinuation that as a result of the opportunism of the party apparatus the voice of the workers from every corner of the country could not be heard is unfounded. The party apparatus at all levels, both collectively and individually, was, is, and certainly will be present in plants, farms, and workshops, among the residents of cities and villages. After all, we are also members of local basic party organizations [POP]. And it is not a question of whether we reliably pass on the opinion of one specific worker. The thing is that in addition to a thorough familiarity with the needs of our society, we are familiar with the capabilities of the national economy, political determining factors, and the consequences of given events. Coordinating the interests of groups and social strata is a complex matter, and requires that the apparatus have profound knowledge, both professional and political, and great psychological endurance, especially since there is no lack of people insulting the apparatus. In order to have a right to evaluate the apparatus and make it responsible for given consequences, observation from one's own office is not sufficient, and in general, external observation is not enough.

I will give three examples to illustrate this statement:

1. I happened once, for example, to count E. Gierek's visits to plants in the first 2 years after the Seventh Party Congress. There were 436 of them, and as far as I know the tempo of these contacts did not fall much until 1980 itself. And what came of that...?

2. Let us consider the period from the beginning of martial law until today. Has it occurred to anyone outside of the bookkeeping committees to be interested in how much time the apparatchiks have spent and are spending among the work forces, what they have eaten, where they have slept and washed, how they felt and how their families felt?

3. In connection with 13 December 1981, I traveled to a certain voivodship to visit a striking work force of almost 8,000 people at one of the factories. There were two of us political workers, both from Warsaw.

After 3 days had passed, I did not remember whether we had eaten and what, or where we had slept. We handled various tasks, all with one paramount goal, to keep the strike from being broken by force. Our initially fragile and frail success soon bore fruit. And did anyone care that after 13 December we left for 2-3 days and did not return to our families until Christmas Eve in the evening, to leave and return on the second day of the holidays, and that the same thing happened on New Year's Day?

And those who instead of resting watched over committees and risked their lives without pay to defend their ideals? This was also the party apparatus and aktiv. Should they be in the dustbin of history? And the representatives of the LWP [Polish Peoples' Army] who, albeit rarely, stood beside us in front of people, with the same basic goal of calming and persuading. Are they also good for nothing?

That is what the main portion of the party apparatus is like--modest, committed and devoted, careful and diligent. They are the ones who strove and coped with the needs of the situation. Rarely equipped with arguments, and often left completely to themselves, with their knowledge and courage they were among people of all circles and all corners of the country.

(Name and address known to the editors)

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CSO: 2600/218

POLAND

JARUZELSKI ATTENDS PARTY CONFERENCE

LD202250 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Dec--PUWP CC First Secretary, Chairman of the National Defence Committee (KOK), General Wojciech Jaruzelski today attended a party report-and-election conference at the first Warsaw mechanized division named after Tadeusz Kosciuszko, the oldest tactical unit of the Polish People's Army.

General Jaruzelski is member of the division staff's basic party organization.

The delegates to the conference assessed the attainments of the division's basic party organization after the 9th PUWP Congress.

They stressed the need for perfecting combat readiness in reference to the tense international situation and growing threats that result from militaristic strivings by [word indistinct]. The alliance with the Soviet Union and joint defensive efforts within the Warsaw Treaty are particularly valuable for the cause of Poland's security, they underscored.

Taking the floor, General Jaruzelski stressed the import of the present PUWP report-and-election campaign. Referring to the current international and domestic situation, the general reviewed the armed forces' tasks in 1984, the year marking the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, and highly praised the army's participation in the country's life.

General Jaruzelski expressed his thanks for the soldiers of the Kosciuszko division for their dignified and responsible performing of tasks in the period of martial law and at present, over the time of Poland's emerging from the crisis. The chairman of the National Defence Committee conveyed to the Kosciuszko division's soldiers wishes of further successes in their military service and activities in the field of ideology and education.

The conference elected new PUWP committee of the first Warsaw mechanized division. The resolution adopted there mapped out lines of future activities.

CSO: 2020/57

ORZECZOWSKI ADDRESSES PRON COUNCIL MEETING

LD112318 Warsaw PAP in English 1422 GMT 11 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec--The National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, PRON, met here on 10 December. The meeting was attended by first PUWP CC secretary, Premier Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski and Sejm Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa were present.

the PRON tasks in solving socio-economic problems of the country were the main issues discussed at the meeting. The information on National Council activities and implementation of postulates of the first congress of this movement was delivered by the council secretary general Professor Marian Orzechowski who said that over 7 months which have passed since the congress PRON became an essential element of Poland's socio-political life.

The role of PRON in all processes aimed at overcoming economic and moral crisis and solution of current problems of social life in Poland was very active. Substantial issues of international significance and of basic importance for Europe's and world's future were taken up at the PRON forum. The PRON came out firmly against growing armaments and the nuclear ones in particular.

M. Orzechowski referred to the decision which was taken several days earlier concerning general election to the people's councils to be held in 1984.

Elections to representative bodies, to be held 18 months after marshal law [as received] was introduced and nearly a year after it was lifted should be an important factor in the processes of stabilization and normalization in our country, Orzechowski said.

Their political function lies first of all in strengthening of the basis of our socialist system, the principle of people's rule, he added.

This should also be done through larger representation of non-party people in the representative bodies' structures, through the strengthening of alliance and cooperation among the PUWP, other political parties and

organizations of lay Catholics and Christians--signatories of the PRON declaration, through the strengthening of social approval for the leading role of the PUWP and increasing social trust in it.

The elections are to be an act of consolidation of an overwhelming part of society round the platform of supreme national values and goals, in the face of threat posed to the security and the future of the state and the nation.

In the international plane, it is primarily the threat of a nuclear disaster. In order to avert it, it is necessary not only to consolidate all peace forces worldwide but also be ready to make sacrifices in order to preserve and consolidate peace, Mariam Orzechowski said.

For our movement, the elections are still another and very concrete and sizable plane for national agreement and rebirth.

We want to win the elections not only formally but by them we want to confirm also the durability of the socialist system, the irreversibility of socio-economic and political-systemic transformations that give meaning to socialist renewal and that eloquently testify to the correctness of the road of accord and rebirth chosen by us.

The assumptions of the regulations of the elections to the people's councils, developed by the Council of State and to be submitted to public consultation in the coming days, create a reliable and real premise to play exactly such a role.

The striving to continue and to consolidate the spirit of socialist renewal in legal provisions is reflected in a telling democratization of the electoral regulations.

The contents of the assumptions and proposals of new solutions in the electoral system, contained in them, stem from the essence of socialist democracy, the speaker stressed. They are to serve the respect, broadening and consolidation of this democracy. In keeping with the PRON's objectives, it is the striving to strengthen socialism and people's power on the basis of a single electoral programme common to all pro-socialist and patriotic forces that underlie the foundations of these assumptions.

CSO: 2020/58

ORZECZOWSKI ON PARTY'S ALLIANCE POLICY

PM122050 Bailystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 4 Nov 83 pp 1, 3-5

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Prof (Dr Hab.) Marian Orzechowski by GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA correspondent Marian Wisniewski--date, place not given]

[Text] Wisniewski: Does a Marxist party need allies, and what are the circumstances in which it may need them? How should the party answer the accusation, voiced by its political adversaries, that it only wants allies at the moment of seizing and consolidating power and, if need be, in times of crisis? And that, later it simply forgets its erstwhile allies and alliances?

Orzechowski: Let us go back in our deliberations to the very sources, to the birth of the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism. For the idea of alliance and allies in the thought of Marx and Engels emerged as early as in the "Communist Manifesto." The need for establishing class and political alliances in the struggle to overthrow capitalism is mentioned there in very clear terms. That line of thought is constantly present in the theory and the practical activity of the authors of scientific socialism. For if revolution becomes the order of the day, the question naturally arises of who, or what social forces, are interested in it. In other words, the question arises of who can become, as it were a natural ally for the working class during the revolution and after its victorious realization.

The question of alliance in the Marxist formulation needs to be considered in two aspects: one is that of class, the other that of political issues. As regards the class aspect, Marx and Engels formulate the familiar notion--which is, nonetheless, worth repeating here--that as the proletariat emancipates itself socially it thus also emancipates--in passing, as it were--all the working people. If this is so, then it seems an obvious and natural thing for the proletariat to strive to secure loyal allies for itself among the entire mass of working people. As we know, the closest class ally of that kind is found in the working peasantry.

In their analyses of the course of the 1948 revolutions in France and Germany, as well as the history of the Paris Commune and all the preceding revolutionary movements, the classics of Marxism put forward the thesis that

there can be no chance of consolidating the achievements of a revolution without having a lasting class and political alliance during the revolution itself and without continuing it after power has been seized: that way it is not possible to achieve success in building socialism. That was why, in his polemic with the leaders of the German Social Democrats, and especially with Kautsky, Engels declared his staunch disagreement with the opinion that everything remaining outside the working class constituted a "reactionary mass," and that the big-industry proletariat was the only revolutionary force there was.

This thesis, while seemingly revolutionary in the extreme, was in actual fact aimed against the revolution. For if the majority--that is, the nonproletarian masses--are not interested in the revolution, then there is obviously no sense at all in attempting to start one. One would simply have to wait until, as a result of class stratification, the majority of society became proletarian. Echoes of this belief in an inbuilt self-regulating automatism of historical development will continue to sound in workers' movement for a long time to come yet.

Wisniewski: That was the class aspect. How does the concept of alliance present itself from the political angle?

Orzechowski: From the political angle it was the question of an alliance between the working class party and the parties representing non-proletarian classes. At this point it is again worth recalling the polemic between Engels and the leftists of that time who were against any kind of political compromise. They even went as far as to maintain that compromise does not become a proletarian party. Engels would in turn reply to that without political compromise, without an alliance with other parties, it would be impossible either to take up the revolutionary cause or, which is more essential, to conclude it victoriously.

The compromise must, however, answer on elementary precondition: to serve the cause of the proletariat and to make it easier for the working class to fulfill its historic task. If these conditions are met, an alliance can, in fact, be negotiated with anyone. The only alliances to be categorically opposed are those which would mean abandoning the fundamental ideological principles.

The same point was, several decades later, stressed by Lenin in his famous polemic concerning "the infant disease of leftism in communism," as he firmly opposed the thesis, propagated by the leftists, that all alliances are meaningless in practical application.

Wisniewski: Let us, then, take the next step from the theory of practice....

Orzechowski: What was still, in part, in the realm of prognosis in the thought of Marx and Engels, entered the realm of practice with Lenin. Or, to put it more precisely, of both theory and practice, as the theory supported the practice will the practice continually enrich the theory with new conclusions and observations.

To begin with, let us recall one tremendously important notion introduced by Lenin: that socialism is the work of millions, not just the working class on its own, and in particular not just the communists on their own. The communists are just a drop in the ocean (the ocean of the working people). And thus there can be no victory without an alliance with non-party people: the revolution cannot, quite simply, succeed without it. This conclusion, so striking in its logic, clarity, and simplicity, was based on a profound analysis of the reality of Lenin's times. His observations referred first of all to the conditions obtaining in Russian where, as we know, the peasantry constituted the decisive majority in society. But it is true of every country, and not only in Lenin's times, that the nonproletarian masses constitute a majority in society. Thus the need for political alliance stems from the very nature of the fabric of any society.

In Lenin's thought, similarly as in Marx' and Engels', this question is a two-fold one: it has a class aspect, concerning an alliance between the working class and the nonproletarian masses, and a political one, concerning an alliance between the working class party with other parties who are political representatives of those masses.

Wisniewski: And what about the accusation that we only remember our allies when we are in trouble?

Orzechowski: Is it only in historically difficult moments that one needs allies? It is, of course, true that in crisis situations the need for an alliance is felt particularly strongly. But it does not at all follow from this statement that alliances are necessary only in such circumstances.

To put it in the most concise way, such an alliance is by nature a historical regularity and it is a distortion of this regularity to underestimate it, to treat it as a mere facade, or to reduce the allies' role to that of a transmitting device for reaching the masses instead of treating them as actual political partners.

Wisniewski: How did this question develop in historical terms? To what extent were those alliances tactical, and to what extent strategic? It would be good to have examples from outside the Polish experience as well.

Orzechowski: A positive example can be quoted from the history of the Soviet Russia--and there, above all, from Lenin's concept and strategy of alliance in the struggle for power. Enough proof for this can be found if we study Lenin's polemics on this subject, for example those with Bukharin and Trotsky.

During the first stage of the revolution in Russia the order of the day was the question of alliance with the socialist revolutionaries. Lenin attached great significance to that alliance--which only collapsed in July 1918, when the socialist revolutionaries attempted unsuccessfully to carry out an armed coup which was, to all intents and purposes, an uprising directed against the revolution. However, that failure did not spell the end of the policy of alliance with the working peasantry.

A negative example can, in turn, be furnished by the history of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The main reason for the fall of the republic--which only lasted for less than 120 days--was the fact that the revolution did not meet the needs of the peasantry. The Hungarian Communists simply underestimated the Russian experience. In formal terms, Hungary, or the Hungarian proletariat--especially in Budapest itself--was more developed and thus, as it were, more ripe for a revolution; despite this, in consequence of the lack of social and political base in the form of an alliance, the revolution ended in defeat.

Wisniewski: What conclusions follow from those historically divergent experiences?

Orzechowski: The conclusions are, naturally, manifold. For example, in his analysis of the sources of the Hungarian failure, Lenin pointed out the fact that a socialist revolution gives peasants much more (mostly in the form of land) than a bourgeois revolution does. By the nature of things, therefore, the peasant is a natural ally of the former.

A similarly negative, although greatly instructive, lesson in history can be provided by the case of the rise and the fall of the Bavarian Soviet Republic. Among the many questions which Lenin put to the leaders of the republic, the following was also asked: What was done for the peasants around Munich?

We drew the appropriate lesson for Poland from all those experiences, both the ones that were successful and those which ended in failure. In its July [1944] Manifesto, the Polish Committee for National Liberation solemnly announced the realization--as one of its first tasks--of the age-old dream of the peasants and, at the same time, the motto put forward already by the Great Proletariat (the first Polish Workers' Party, set up in the summer of 1882): "The land to those who work it."

Wisniewski: If alliances are of permanent--and not expedient--nature, then how are we to defend, within their framework, that which distinguishes us from our allies? In other words, will the essentials not become "diluted" in those politically and socially diverse negotiations?

Orzechowski: This is, of course, an issue of major importance. Within every political alliance one can distinguish, as it were, two strata, or two planes. The first is the joint plane, the one that determines the concurrence of interests, about the issues which create a permanent and direct bond between the allied sides. And the other plane is that which involves the individual interests, plans and aims of each allied partner. An alliance between the working class and the nonproletarian masses is based precisely on those two prerequisites. What they have in common is their striving to overthrow capitalism and build a system based on social justice.

Wisniewski: That, as it were, is what each individual partner contributes toward the joint account....

Orzechowski: It is altogether a kind of joint account, to use that metaphor. There are no issues here which might separate or divide the partners. The dispute between them, on the other hand, concerns the ways of development, the pace of the transformations, and the hierarchy of goals. It is tremendously important to become aware of which issues are not subject to bargaining or compromises.

Wisniewski: Could we have concrete examples to substantiate your remarks?

Orzechowski: An example here can be provided by the resolutions of the joint 11th plenum in the question of agricultural development and adequate supply of food for the nation. An overriding question, and one which unites all partners, is the need to meet and fulfill the urgent challenge presented by the necessity to feed the nation adequately. That is the supreme value, accepted with full solidarity by all partners and all parties in the political alliance. On the other hand, it is always necessary to keep the objective situation in focus, especially our material capabilities, and also the experience and the state of social awareness of the peasants. We must not ignore all that if we do not want to lapse into socially harmful utopian thinking. And so our overriding, strategic goal must have concrete tactical solutions subordinated to it. These solutions naturally create a new social situation and that, in turn, requires new underlying transformation of social material.

Wisniewski: What about the question of the ideological identity of each of the individual allies?

Orzechowski: Of course, all this time we have been talking about alliances based on certain principles, about honest alliances in which no one intends to deceive the other side. For there are also alliances whose terms the partners do not keep, as they had been concluded under pressure. We, I shall repeat, are talking about honest and serious alliances in which each of the partners keeps in view the goal which they have jointly accepted.

And at the same time none of the partners conceals his own real identity. The working class party does not make a secret of its Marxist descent, its ideological identity, or its ultimate goal, that is, abolition of the class system. Our party declares all these honestly in the negotiations with its partners, in the course of which it openly states that it will not abandon its identity, its traditions or the abovementioned ultimate goal.

This straightforward presentation of the whole issue is the best proof confirming that we treat both our allies and alliances seriously. For the main thing is to ensure that we do not lose our identity in our alliances--alliances which, by the nature of things, are based on compromise--and that we remain what we really are. In this way we are, it seems, more clearly defined in our own assessment and at the same time more credible in the eyes of our allies. For the latter know only too well who we are and there is no need to take recourse to a game of appearances. The fundamental arguments we have behind us are the state, the international alliances and socialism--in other words, everything that constitutes the best guarantees of development for the Polish nation.

Wisniewski: How, in connection with all this and in the context of the questions asked here, does the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] formula stand for today and tomorrow? What is the common factor in that arrangement, what is politically and ideologically integrated, and what do its individual partners treat as a value which cannot be traded in?

Orzechowski: The PRON is a specific form of a political alliance too: a platform for cooperation between all prosocialist forces interested in making socialism more modern and in building it in a way which can be accepted by the largest possible proportion of our society. It is thus a platform constituting an alliance and based on the recognition, by all partners, of the leadership of the Marxist party, but on the condition, as it were, that that leadership is accepted by society and that it will continue to be accepted.

What is common to all partners, you ask, and what cannot be traded in. I already spoke about the agreement that had to meet two conditions, about the dual, as it were, consensus in our social agreements. The first plane of the agreement, or of the consensus, is the plane of all fundamental principles of our system, accepted by all parties, all participants in the agreement. This found its formal expression in the PRON declaration of 20 July 1982. It can, therefore, be said that an assent, declared by all partners, to the fundamental principles of our system is, as it were, an initial and necessary preconditions of the kind of alliance that the PRON unquestionably constitutes.

The movement will not, therefore, engage in any debate on subjects such as the following: Should Poland be a socialist country? Should it remain a loyal ally for the other socialist countries? Does the alliance with the USSR constitute a guarantee of the security of our borders? Should the Marxist party play the leading role in the nation? Anyone who intends to propose such issues for a debate automatically places himself outside the movement.

The other plane of agreement and of the political consensus constitutes a broad arena of social compromise. It embraces everything that deserves and ought to be discussed. That is, most of all, the questions of how to realize those goals of our system, of their hierarchy, of the pace of the realization of the tasks which have been jointly accepted, and so on.

Wisniewski: And what about other questions that can come under discussion?

Orzechowski: There are many of those. For example, the scale of which nonparty people should have access to positions of power. This scale, as we know, is very broad now and it continues to increase--one of the causes behind that being the debates I have already mentioned. Further, the question of the models of legislative and structural solutions of certain institutions. Finally, the question of arriving at an appropriate model of relations between the authorities in power and the citizens, appropriate procedures for carrying out social consultations, and so on.

All this, it deserves to be stressed firmly, concerns the most broadly understood method of exercising power. That is not an easy undertaking, whether discussed in a debate or being put into practice; on the contrary, it is complex and difficult, but tremendously important and fundamental for the building of socialism in Poland. An example of the difficulty involved and, at the same time, the efficacy of the adopted procedure of social negotiation can be found in the new bills on people's councils and territorial self-government. No one can deny that these questions are, by their very nature, fundamentally involved in the issue of the state's system. And the fact that the Sejm has approved these bills is in a way a material manifestation of the vitality of our alliance. After viewing the matter from many viewpoints, and discussing it at length and, at times, arduously, it agreed to choose the optimum solutions. The same is true of many other matters, not only those which have been mentioned here.

Wisniewski: What, then, are the indisputable values, the ones which are beyond any discussion, bargaining, or compromise?

Orzechowski: The questions which are indisputable and cannot be traded in are the identity and authenticity of each partner in the movement. We do not, for example, demand that the Catholics abandon their own world outlook and they, similarly, do not, on the whole, insist that we renounce the principles of scientific socialism. Nor can traditions be exchanged or replaced: each partner in the movement keeps their own distinct traditions, be it the ZSL, the SD, or the Christian Social Associations.

Finally, the right of each participant in the movement to express his own opinion on things taking place in our country is beyond all discussion. After all, none of the sides owns exclusive rights to the decisive argument, or to proposing the only correct solution. All this is even more than the question of political honesty, or decency, because it is a question of elementary common sense. I will repeat here the opinion which I already expressed considerably earlier (in an interview given to *Zolnierz Wolnosci* on the eve of the PRON congress): Everyone is entitled to express his opinions about the state of affairs in our people's republic. But this entitlement should not be used from the position of an outside observer, a mere commentator, an idle looker-on who always knows better. (I told you so...). We do not accept such attitudes.

Wisniewski: What is the socialist countries' current experience when it comes to alliances? Perhaps you can give us some details concerning, in particular, Hungary, in connection with your visit there and the agreement that has been signed.

Orzechowski: One cannot make sweeping statements about these matters and reduce all historical instances and all the different experiences to a common denominator. For each of the socialist countries has accumulated--precisely in the course of its own, sometimes quite bitter, historical experience--its own experiments, its own achievements, and its own models of the course to be taken in these matters.

The Hungarians did, in fact, carry out some very interesting experiments in the area of alliance with the peasants and the intelligentsia after 1956. That alliance contributed in a significant measure to a restoration of unity within a society which was considerably battered and disturbed in consequence of the well known events in mid-50's.

Another type of experiment was, in turn, carried out in Czechoslovakia. I mean the alliance between the two nations, Czechs and Slovaks, within the framework of one state. Like any other alliance, this one is based on a recognition of the overriding causes--in this case, the existence of one federal state--but it is also an expression of a kind of compromise where both the nations have equal rights. That particular compromise was not arrived at easily, as we know from the painful history of the state in question. It could only have come into effect in a worker-peasant state, and so it has an unequivocal significance in terms of class.

Cuba's experience is completely different to our European experience. Recently, the island celebrated the 25th anniversary of the existence of the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution. These committees are in fact a characteristically Cuban, institutionalized form of a revolutionary alliance between different social groups within the entire group of working people. The alliance was set up in defence of the revolution, against externally generated attempts at overthrowing it.

A social function similar to the one fulfilled by our PRON is discharged in Bulgaria by the Fatherland Front. The Bulgarians have, in any case, been taking up very interesting experiments recently, involving, for instance, social consultations or, in particular, the institution of popular referendum. These experiments are thoroughly institutional in nature, and they also pertain to the system itself.

Generally speaking, extremely interesting and very promising things are happening now in these areas in all the socialist countries. The Hungarians, for example, have brought in a new election system, and that idea, together with other, equally original ones, was generated within the forum of their Popular Patriotic Front (analogical to our PRON).

The GDR, in turn, can boost interesting achievements as regards the formula of cooperation between churches in the matter of such paramount importance as the defense of the jeopardized peace.

In other words, interesting and significant changes are taking place everywhere within institutions concerned with the law and the state, that is, in the sphere where power is exercised. This, incidentally, is a fairly instructive contribution to the debate whose subject is the question whether socialism lends itself to reform.

Wisniewski: What message is there for us in all those experiments?

Orzechowski: It is our duty to closely observe and examine all these social--and I will not hesitate to also call them historical--experiments.

The reason for this is simple and practical: we should do it in order to avoid the mistakes which may occur, and to make use of our friends' experience in a form that is as thoroughly tested and crystallized as possible. I do not think it will be presumptuous on my part to say that our Polish experiments, which had cost us so dearly, also contain many signs and meanings whose sense can be intelligible also outside our country.

Wisniewski: Now for a very concrete question: there have been signals from parishes, small townships, and also larger centers about attempts by the party to directly "steer" [the activity of] PRON organizations. Could we ask you to give us your answer to this charge?

Orzechowski: I wish to state my standpoint on this matter in a brief and unequivocal way. If such cases have really occurred, then they are not only alarming but also very dangerous. They are not only aimed at the essence of the movement, but are also absolutely contrary to the intentions of the party and its leadership. Such attempts at directing things--and I do hope they remain no more than attempts--are particularly harmful in the long run, and they constitute an expression of a lack of understanding about the fact that the PRON is vitally necessary for the nation, for socialism, and therefore also for our party.

Those attempts at directing [the activity of the PRON] are the consequences of the habit of taking things easy, or of the way some people have got used to settling things by means of telephone instructions, but--unfortunately--they also result from common arrogance. They are mostly the result of the fact that some of our comrades suffer from short memory: there are many among them who forgot too soon about what happened to us in August 1980. But even if they do not remember it any more, our society--in particular our working class--remembers it well.

CSO: 2600/454

POLAND

GDANSK DEMONSTRATION ATTRACTS SOLIDARITY SUPPORTERS

NC251428 Paris AFP in English 1420 GMT 25 Dec 83

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, 25 Dec (AFP)--Several thousand people demonstrated their support for the banned Solidarity Union in this industrial city in northern Poland early today after they attended midnight mass with Lech Walesa.

Witnesses said the faithful gave Mr Walesa, the founder of Solidarity and the latest Nobel Peace Prize winner, a rousing ovation after the mass at St Brigid's Church in the Gdansk shipyards.

Walesa left quickly in a car and returned home. The crowd walked through the streets of the city, shouting pro-Solidarity slogans and raising their hands to make the V-for-victory salute that has become a symbol of the outlawed union. Police did not intervene and the crowd had dispersed by 2 am.

Earlier, Father Hendryk Jankowski, the shipyard chaplain and a close friend of Mr Walesa, asked in his homily, "May God open the doors of the prisons." He urged the faithful to pray "so there are no more political prisoners and everyone can go home."

Meanwhile, Polish Primate Cardinal Josef Glemp announced in his midnight mass homily the "freeing, at the request of the Church, of some 30 political prisoners." He did not identify them or say whether they have already been freed.

Episcopal Conference Secretary Bronislav Dabrowski also declined to identify the prisoners but said "among them are some who are well known."

Interior Minister Czeslaw Kisczak put the number of political prisoners as of 5 December at 217, but dozens of arrests of union organizers since then are believed to have swelled the number.

CSO: 2020/60

DISSIDENT PRIEST CALLS FOR DIALOGUE

OW260024 Paris AFP in English 0004 GMT 26 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Dec (AFP)--Dissident Roman Catholic Priest Father Jerzy Popieluszko, addressing more than 12,000 pro-Solidarity worshippers here today, warned Polish authorities that lack of "dialogue" between the government and the people potentially "threatened civil peace."

During a mass at which the congregation spilled into the street and stood in the rain under a forest of umbrellas, Father Popieluszko called for "truth, justice, respect for human rights, and freedom."

Without dialogue, he said, "social peace is threatened and a certain state of war exists."

Father Popieluszko, who faces trial on charges of abusing his religious status for political ends, called for "the right of assembly"--an allusion to the banning of the independent trade union Solidarity and writers', journalists', artists' and actors' associations. He is one of the priests rebuked in a new year's message by Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp for political activities not in conformity with Vatican policy.

Responding to this criticism, Father Popieluszko said that during masses for Poland and political prisoners he had "never used my own words, but always based what I say on the gospel and the words of Pope John Paul II."

The mass ended with the congregation singing the traditional pro-Solidarity hymn "God Protect Poland" and making V-for-victory signs.

Earlier, Cardinal Glemp announced the release at the request of the Church, of some 30 political prisoners. He did not identify them or say whether they had already been freed.

Episcopal conference secretary Bronislav Dabrowski also declined to identify the prisoners but said "among them are some who are well known."

Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak put the number of political prisoners as of 5 December at 217, but dozens of arrests of union organizers since then are believed to have swelled the number.

POLAND

RUMORS SUGGEST GLEMP TO VISIT USSR

PM221620 Paris LE MONDE in French 22 Dec 83 p 7

[Dispatch by Jan Karuze: "Monsignor Glemp Satisfies Authorities by Asking Priests 'Not To Be Involved in Politics'"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw--Satisfied with the recent statements made by Polish Primate Monsignor Glemp, who called on priests "not to become involved in politics," the Warsaw authorities seem determined to push their advantage: Indeed, government spokesman Jerzy Urban specified on Tuesday 20 December the nature of the charges against Father Popieluszko, one of the priests most committed to support for Solidarity, who was arrested 1 week ago and then released after the episcopate intervened at the highest level.

The persistent rumors on a plan for a visit by the primate to the USSR at the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church, are increasing anxiety in some Catholic circles about the attitude of the church hierarchy: Just as that visit would seem useful if the primate could take the opportunity to visit the Soviet lands which are steeped in Catholicism, like Latvia and Lithuania, linked to Poland by historical and emotional ties, so it would look like another unilateral concession if Monsignor Glemp were to go only to Moscow.

CSO: 3519/153

CARDINAL GLEMP APPEALS FOR COMPROMISE

LD202025 Vatican City International Service in English 1445 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw--Poland's Catholic Primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, issued a Christmas appeal on Monday for compromise between the Communist Government and the Solidarity Movement, saying that Poland has to be saved. In the annual Christmas and New Year message released by the Church authorities, the Cardinal warned that Poland, as a nation between the opposite poles of the superpowers, must be careful not to provide the spark that could ignite a nuclear holocaust. The Church will fight against this with all its might, Cardinal Glemp asserted. Great international stress has also put our country under the common threat hanging over the existence of mankind.

Cardinal Glemp also referred to the past year as a year of bountiful grace. There was Pope John Paul II's pilgrimage, Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa's Nobel Peace Prize and the release of many people interned and imprisoned under martial law.

Cardinal Glemp indirectly criticized both the government for failing to produce a programme for reconciliation, and Solidarity supporters for unchristian and suicidal forms of protest. We understand that the word "reconciliation," which has lost its full meaning, gives no programme at present, Cardinal Glemp said. The Church, the Cardinal went on, looks with great concern at all the pains and troubles touching society but the clergy must stay within certain boundaries when attempting to solve national problems. The Episcopate, he said, will warn priests not to deal in politics. The priests' task to unite people with God does not exclude them from serving the nation. A man united with God does not become socially passive, quite the opposite. He should fight all kinds of social apathy.

CSO: 2020/56

POLAND

POLITICAL PRISONERS BENEFIT FROM HOLIDAY AMNESTY

LD251813 Hamburg DPA in German 1715 GMT 25 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Dec (DPA)--At the request of the Catholic Church, about 30 political prisoners were released in Poland shortly before the holidays. The Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp announced this Sunday during a Christmas service in the cathedral in Warsaw.

The Church is however, currently speaking with authorities about the fate of the seven leading members of the banned trade union "Solidarity" and the four founding members of the opposition "Workers' Defense Committee" (KOR), who have been detained since the imposition of martial law.

It has been learned from usually well-informed sources that the people released at the urging of the Church are mostly workers. They come from various parts of the country. Seven were already sentenced and have been granted amnesty. Around 20 were undergoing investigation in custody and can await their trial in freedom.

Seven leading members of the "Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth" (PRON), which is sponsored by the government, including the well-known agricultural expert Ryszard Manteuffel, the director Kazimierz Dejmek and the publicist Edmund Osmańczyk, have also demanded the release of 11 prominent political prisoners from the "Solidarity" leadership and the "Workers' Defense Committee."

CSO: 2300/214

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, FREEDOM OF THOUGHT STRESSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Dec 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Dumitru Popescu, member of the RCP CC Political Executive Committee, rector of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: "History and Contemporary Times;" based on a report to the Scientific Session at the Romanian Athenaeum dedicated to the Great Unification of 1918]

[Text] The anniversary of the great unification, like any memorable date in our millenia-long past, demonstrates the indissoluble triad of the dramatic Romanian destiny: unity, liberty and independence. Dramatic, but not tragic since, being dominated by an irrepressible will for struggle, as well as a belief in victory, it appears to us as optimistic and heroic.

Thanks to the great contemporary communist patriot, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, today we have a broad, coherent representation that is perfectly articulated in time and space and unassailably argued in accordance with the nature of socialist principles and historic truth, showing the entire national legend of the unity, liberty and independence of the people.

Such a prodigious scientific-theoretical undertaking could only but spring from a higher understanding of the significance of the past not only as a birth certificate and a civil state of the people, but also as an immeasurable treasury of material and spiritual culture and of wisdom, virtue and morals, without which our present and future would become extremely poor. The deep national sentiment and responsibility were doubled by the high idea that, if the communist party is located in the vanguard of the movement for social rights, it must also be the guarantee for unity, liberty and independence of its own people, thus linking socialism in the most intimate manner to the historic essence of the people.

The work of deciphering the true meanings of the triad of our national destiny from the point of view of scientific socialism was even more than it had been assumed to be, in an unavoidable way, the shattering of certain erroneous, tendentious theoretical theses that had been circulating unfortunately not only abroad in unfriendly circles, but also even within our own party, preventing it from being placed in a plainly patriotic position with regards to such a delicate and essential problem for the Romanians, as unification was. It was thus said that, being a creation of the bourgeoisie, a class that was by definition reactionary, unification bears the imprint of this class. It was then purported that, since

the First World War had had an imperialist quality to it, Romania as a belligerent country, corresponding to schematic thinking, must be fatally found in the monopolist phase of capitalism. In other words, it must be an imperialist state where, as a result, unification does not appear as the fulfillment of an objective historic necessity, but rather an expression of an expansionist policy of territorial annexation. Finally, there has been the assertion that our great unification was nothing more than the aleatory product of an imperialist peace treaty and, as such, right from the very start it bore an infamous stigma.

Indisputable arguments were brought against all these more or less innocent absurdities. Demonstrating that in reality the people produced the unification, it was explained that by being at the head of the movement - furthermore, right alongside the social-democrats - the young Romanian bourgeoisie played a progressive role. And, this occurred not by virtue of certain intrinsic moral values - although among their ranks there were a number of passionate patriots, enlightened persons and courageous people -, but because it was objectively the carrier of the ideas of the national state, as a natural corollary to its own class interests, which were in accord with the laws of progress and the general interests of the people. Similarly, although nearly on the order of evidence, it was shown that during the period of unification Romania was a poorly developed country economically, with a pronounced agrarian nature and having strong feudal remnants and, far from being an imperialist, annexationist and oppressive state, it continued itself to be, to a certain degree, under foreign monopolies and the great imperialist powers. Under these circumstances, the elimination of foreign domination from a good portion of Romanian territory and the conclusion of the unified national state itself constituted the condition for economic-social progress. In the end, it was shown that the Treaty of Trianon - whose role, for some, is still an obsession - was not the cause, but the effect of unification, being nothing more than the confirmation of an actual reality and the will of the entire Romanian nation - furthermore, from a distance of 2 years. The unification was given a theoretical substantiation in the spirit of an authentic revolutionary thinking which proclaimed the sacred right of the people to self-determination and the creation of an independent state and for which the absolutist multinational empires were prisons of the people, with their destruction being an ineluctable requirement for social progress. Those who pushed aside the foreign yoke have no reason to be ashamed for their success when the former oppressors complain of the disappearance of the absolutist empires and contest the right to create national states - since apologies are still made for the domination and oppression during the epoch of the fall of the colonial empires and for the impetuous affirmation of the free nations created upon their ruins!

Listening to or reading the numerous works by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the subject of the unification and liberation of the Romanians, we are filled with an emotional feeling that is not from certain yellowed pages of history, but which belong to a current nature, a perennial nature of this grandiose subject. The millenium-long process of giving birth to unification - a painful and heroic

process - was concluded merely 65 years ago - not even the lifetime of a person - with the oldest generation directly witnessing this event. And, it is but only 4 decades or so since they tried to turn back the wheel of history, since the country was again cut up. Even after the reestablishment of the immanent rights, this left a deep scar in the soul of the Romanians. The current echoes are also produced by the proliferation of certain theories, ever so fragile and equally perservering and pernicious, which, being more or less obscure, continue to place a question mark, if not deny, the right of the Romanians to be united and to live in freedom, quietly and peacefully on their ancient land.

In comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's works, unification does not belong only to the past, as a crowning step in the long path of troubles and struggles, it is also a stringent commandment of the present. We well know the high levels upon which the national unity of the people has been placed since the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress. Beyond the objective process of social unity as a result of the development of the forces of production and the new realities, right in the middle there is also a concept and a consciously guided action. The profoundly patriotic and popular policy promoted during this period has raised the unity of the people around the party to the highest level. A series of difficult situations through which we have passed - natural calamities and others - has tested the giant role of unity as a resource for the country's struggle and resistance and as a motive force for progress. World experience, as well as that in the socialist world and in the recently liberated countries, shows the seriousness and proportions that can stem from an underestimation of this primordial political problem and, implicitly, the attention that must be given to the continued consolidation of national unity.

In the efforts in which we are involved, the function of unity in today's world, as noted on the international scale, appears practically unlimited. Unity is the solution for overcoming differences and conflicts between certain socialist countries and communist parties so that they can be thrown into the balance of the world struggle for progress and peace with all their superiority. Unity is the path for activating and extracting the potential of countless components of the anti-imperialist front in a single torrent guided by the same programmatic goal. Unity is the salutary means of ending animosities and confrontations between the countries of the third world and for having cooperation of their material and human resources for the purpose of overcoming underdevelopment. Unity is the sole future for the small and medium-sized countries to protect their freedom and independence against the policies of domination and division of the world into spheres of influence. Unity is the weapon of the people against those who push them towards nuclear disaster.

In an inseparable osmosis with the idea of unity, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is broadly developing the idea of freedom and independence, as outlined both by the limits of the past and the national present and by the dimensions of the world social-political panorama. Freedom and independence are seen as supreme expressions of human dignity, of affirmation of individual and collective personality and of the exercise of the sovereign prerogatives of the people and countries. This is the high goal of all generations - be there talk of acquiring

these two attributes or of preserving them since they can also be lost. In both cases, no sacrifice appears too great since, it is said, life without them is of no value other than the degree in which it is sacrificed in order to get them.

Freedom and independence are not in themselves an imperative under socialism either and they are not expressed as an automatic effect of the overthrow of the exploiting classes. Not being formal categories, but rather living realities, it is not sufficient to merely be proclaimed. They must be brought about in forms and means corresponding to each stage of historic evolution. Freedom and independence are ideals too dear to people to not be permanently given an adequate content. And, in Romania there was a sufficient amount to be done after the Ninth RCP Congress in order to give the necessary content to these fundamental ideas. Anachronistic social structures had to be eliminated and replaced, those that had been born during the first stage of the revolution and, by way of perpetuation, that had become an impediment. An end was put to certain humiliating practices. Positions were taken against trends to limit the rights of the citizens - especially with regards to the issuance of judgements on the country's affairs and the criticism of negative states of affairs - and there was opposition to the failure to believe in the people's ability to make statements about the manner in which socialism and communism should be built and to participate in the leadership. Along this line of ideas, they revealed and counteracted the profoundly poisonous mentality, as reflected not only in narrow work methods, but also in abuses, illegalities and distortions of the principles of socialism, including the hypertrophying of the repressive functions of the state to the detriment of the functions of democracy. Within society, new leadership principles were established and new relations were made permanent between the party and the people.

In explaining the reasons for these actions and defining the socialism-freedom equation - where in the history of the revolutionary movement a sufficient number of errors have been committed, paying tribute to rigidity, a gregarious spirit and even fanaticism -, the secretary general of our party stated before the representatives of the communist and international workers movement at the 1969 Moscow Conference: "If the capitalist system marked, incontestably, progress from the old, feudal system in the area of democratic freedoms and citizens' rights, it is even clearer that the socialist system is called upon to create a society in which democratic freedoms will be incomparably superior to the capitalist system." We have in mind a climate in which the people will be able to make criticisms with obstructions or limitations with regards to any shortcoming, to fully express initiatives in the construction of socialism and to participate in leadership.

Convinced that civilization cannot evolve without knowledge, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stated on numerous occasions, in opposition to different dogmatic lines, the principle of the peoples' freedom of thought. Drawing from the experience of humanity the conclusion that the scientific truth is the result of the free confrontation of opinions, that the exploration of the new can also generate errors and that this belongs to the dialectics of human thought and that in the end the advanced positions will win out, he asks us to be filled not with the fear of being wrong, but with the danger of stagnation, of dulling

creative intelligence, of making the spirit of initiative and investigation timid, of conservatism and, as a result, of social involution. Each people's freedom of thought is considered to be a guarantee of a specific contribution to the treasury of science and culture, to the diversification of human progress and to the finding of certain authentic answers for the complicated and sometimes mysterious problems of an era.

With scientific socialism's remarkable contribution to theory and practice, this concept was completed and later amplified in the context of a radical updating of the political system of socialist democracy, leading to the current motto of the party: "socialism is created together with the people and for the people." This principle is organically correlated with the precept that each people is sovereign in the selection of the specific paths and means of building socialism - in accordance with the specific national personality - keeping in mind that it is building a new system for its own use and good, not in order to meet the requirements of a system of abstract cannons, as is the case of the thesis that the party answers for the manner in which it works before the people to whom it belongs.

The right of each nation to select by itself, without interference from outsiders, its path of social-political development was projected by the secretary general of our party onto the screen of this epoch, the cornerstone of international justice. Although the idea of independence appears extremely easy to understand, its implementation in our times also involves a giant political and ideological battle. So it is to make the spirit sensitive to it and to make minds receptive so as to accept it, in order to demonstrate and convince people that it does not contain a single danger factor, that it does not present any risks, that it does not contradict any progressive ideology and doctrine or the national interests of anyone, that, on the contrary, it is the sole path for getting out of interstate conflicts and for avoiding the terrible dangers that threaten mankind and the only means of avoiding wars, and that it is the essence of higher humanist thinking, corresponding to the highest degree to the theory of socialism and the interests of each people, as well as international unity and solidarity! Independence is counterpoised against imperialism and colonialism, against any form of domination and oppression and against all obscurantist policies and ideologies that discount and ignore other peoples and that divide the world into higher nations and lower nations, into ruling states and ruled states and into world policemen and countries that must be made docile.

With regards to Romania, our president has clearly stated that he is not disposed to give way any of these sacred prerogatives, with any decision regarding national destinies being in the competence of the people themselves and their constitutional fora. Membership in a bloc does not annul the will of the people and the sovereignty of a state in international relations, in its options for cooperation, in the policy for peaceful coexistence and detente and in the promotion of its own interests. Further, it does not mean commitment without reserves in a policy of confrontation. For a long time it has been necessary to explain the fact that independence and sovereignty do not affect solidarity and unity and that, on the contrary, this unity cannot congeal,

consolidate and perpetuate except on the basis of independence and sovereignty. Similarly, it has been stressed that the proclamation of respect for independence has nothing to do with nationalism - in this regard, willingly or unwillingly, there is still profound confusion -, that nationalism is a lack of consideration for personality, dignity and the sovereignty of another people and not the cultivation of these great values, that a person cannot be an internationalist without first being a patriot, and that the etymology itself of the term does not indicate anything more than free relations between equal nations.

In the spirit of dialectic and historic materialism, political independence is considered to be invalid and unexercised, in other words a state of utopia, under conditions of a lack of economic independence. This is the source of the stress upon increasing our national wealth, modernizing the forces of production and strengthening Romania's economic independence. This is the source of the friendly suggestion to any country that has succeeded in throwing off foreign rule of not forgetting that without economic independence the great success sooner or later becomes, in the great worldwide confrontation, a simple formal act and that economic dependence brings along with it the loss of political independence.

The principle of independence is found at the top of all political documents of Romania, in the documents signed by our party with the communist parties and other parties and organizations, in treaties, declarations and communiques concluded with different countries, and in international documents where the Socialist Republic of Romania has had its say.

Countless awards, national and international honors, and a long string of biographic works, books and laudatory declarations made by certain chiefs of states and parties and prominent political figures confirm that in world public opinion the name of the president of Romania is associated organically with the noble cause of the freedom and independence of all peoples.

Unity, liberty and independence - the firey triangle of the history of the Romanian people - are blended together and integrated at the level of the superstructure and vast sphere of national awareness. Under conditions where, as we know, under socialism the nation is raised to a higher level, having a major role to play in the future of communism as well, national awareness becomes a moral-political category of the first order and its cultivation an indispensable social action.

History takes on, therefore, values of a very current nature - so great, it has been said, that the people whose history has been ravished remain an orphan. It is established as the theme of the imprescriptible rights of the Romanian people - a unified and indivisible nation - and of the fundamental attributes of our state: territorial integrity, unity, liberty and freedom. Similarly, history is legitimized as an eternal and inexhaustible source of revolutionary patriotism and as a stimulus for the continuity of the spirit for struggle and sacrifice for the greatness of the Romanian nation. Furthermore, history becomes a stable and lasting point of reference for the people's psychic and

moral personality and for its philosophical and artistic physiognomy created over the millenia of social experience, of suffering and courage and of struggle and victory, thus a starting point and a basis for the masses' political, civic and ethics education. Finally, history serves as a great tradition of the Romanians' respect for the nationalities with whom they have lived for a long time on our ancient territory and for the national rights and existence of other peoples, and as a tradition of solidarity with the forces for progress, right and truth everywhere, for friendship, mutual assistance and peaceful cooperation with all the nations of the world.

In a few words, this is a portion of the impressive significance of the high Marxist political lessons of history - also principally including contemporary history - contained in the works of the one who has been for nearly 2 decades at the helm of socialist Romania.

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CONCLUSIONS OF STUDY ON CLASSES, SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Sep-Oct 83 pp 453-459

[Series of reports by Ion Glodeanu, Honorina Cazacu, Calin Anastasiu, Sorin Mitulescu and Ioana Petre: "Classes and Evolution of Social Structure"]

[Text] In their specific investigation of the evolution of the social structure in Romania and of its current changes, the group of researchers at the Sociology Center who are working on these problems felt it necessary to clarify some theoretical questions and some concepts that have been treated in a biased or sometimes distorted fashion in the previous Romanian sociological literature, such as the concepts of social structure, social class and stratum, social mobility etc. Some of the conclusions we have reached are outlined below.

ION GLODEANU: I shall try to note a few points that have concerned Romanian sociologists in connection with the problems of the classes and the social structure. The literature since 1945 indicates that on the theoretical level, the discussions have chiefly concentrated upon the criteria for defining the social classes in socialism and upon the place and role of the classes in Romanian socialist society.

Concerning the criteria for defining the social classes, the discussions usually began with Lenin's contribution and especially his definition in the work "The Great Initiative." In general the discussions proceeded from the idea that the socioeconomic conditions under which the Leninist theory of the social classes was developed have changed. Societies have undergone such radical changes that it is difficult to identify the classes by the classic criteria for defining them. Hence also the natural question whether or not the criteria for the Leninist definition of the social classes are still operative for socialist society. Two trends developed on this subject, one represented by the sociologists who thought that even under socialism property is the controlling criterion of the classes (the other criteria in the Leninist definition remaining valid), mentioning that other criteria should be added to it to better express the nature of the classes under socialism, such as those of class consciousness, behavior, way of life, etc.

The other trend is represented by the sociologists who considered the property criterion inadequate for defining the classes under socialism. Whereas the

criterion of relationship to the production means is fundamental in societies based on private property, in socialism, where the whole national wealth is the property of the entire people, socialist property is a criterion that explains the common bond of the social classes and categories rather than their differentiation, and the nature of the work performed is the criterion that more clearly distinguishes the classes in socialist society.

Although the shift to a more differentiated treatment of the classes is noticeable in the course of time, from the theoretical standpoint the sociologists have not succeeded in developing a theory of the classes of socialist society, and this has interfered to some extent with investigation and explanation of the mechanisms of the changes in the social structure and classes in contemporary Romanian society.

The discussions of the place and role of the classes in Romanian socialist society are also closely related to the above-mentioned situation. In this theoretically limited context, the sociologists brought out the main changes that were made by restructuring the old bourgeois-landowner class disposition and establishing a new one wherein the Romanian working class became a leading class under its Communist Party's leadership. Emphasis was placed on analyzing the non-antagonistic nature of the social classes and categories in Romanian society, the alliance of the working class with the cooperative peasantry, the role of the new intelligentsia, and especially the nature, role and functions of the working class.

What needs to be pointed out is the fact that the sociologists have not paid equal attention to study and analysis of all the social classes and categories. For example they wrote reports analyzing the structure of the working class especially in reference to the increase in its ranks, the changes in its qualification structure and recruitment methods, its geographic distribution, its participation in management, and the changes made in it by the scientific-technical revolution. But those aspects were treated less in reference to the peasantry and intelligentsia and not at all in reference to other social categories.

The lack of a theory of the social classes in socialism inevitably affected the way they were investigated and studied, so that in general the treatment of the social classes was largely limited to description instead of explanation, making it impossible to develop any conceptual system for study of the classes in socialism. This situation on the theoretical level also explains to some extent the fact that Romania has not yet produced any extensive, representative study of the social classes on the national scale or of the social structure of contemporary Romanian society on a broader scale.

In view of this situation we feel that some extensive, representative studies on the national level, with very effective theoretical and practical generalization, are a major requirement for the social research front. But it cannot be accomplished by any one researchers collective and it requires the combined forces of social research and application of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary studies.

HONORINA CAZACU: The need of refinement and enrichment of the conceptual system used in working on problems of the social structure is a more general conclusion

to be drawn from the Romanian sociological literature. Concepts are the foundations of a theory. Two basic concepts are still inadequately developed in the theory of social structure, that of social structure and that of social class.

I think of the social structure as a composite entirety including two kinds of components: (a) a number of historical communities including families, urban and rural communities, social classes, strata and the nation, and (b) a number of demographic, social and occupational groups characterizing all these communities, including generations, occupational groups, and those according to school instruction, income etc. The category of social structure indicates the various ways of grouping the people in a given society and the social relations that arise on that basis. The institutional and theoretical-ideological superstructure is built upon this entirety.* According to the theory of historical materialism, it is the function of the category of social structure to make the connection between the categories of "economic base" and "superstructure." Between the last two there is a conceptually uncovered area that has favored the direct and simplistic derivation of the superstructure from the economic base. But an economic base and certain production relations generate and shape a certain social structure and certain social relations and, through the intermediary of them, a certain institutional, theoretical-ideological superstructure of values. But the category of social structure is central to sociological theory.

As it follows from the previous formulation of the social structure category, it incorporates a number of concepts and ideas that indicate its components. Each one of them must be defined. But in the entirety of a theory of the social structure it is necessary to understand the place of each idea among the components and in relation to the category that incorporates them, and study of the social structure as a whole must be guided by this arrangement. But how can the place and importance of each one be determined? In the order of their historical appearance, the family would be most important, as well as the generation groups, followed by the occupational groups, etc. But according to the Marxist method it would be an error in theory to treat the categories in their historically determined order. The place of each depends upon the relationships that are formed among them and their structure in the given society, a place and order often contrary to their natural succession in history.

From this viewpoint social history tells us that in the beginnings of society relations in communities were structured according to a simple division of activities between the sexes. As the local communities were established and grew, as relations of family and kin were stabilized, as the division of labor developed and the forms of possession or of collective and private ownership appeared, and as some forms of institutional organization were consolidated, a whole era began of differentiation of people according to economic positions and positions of power, that is an era of formation of the social classes. As a result, all the previously formed social relations were restructured. Relations in the family and among families, based from the beginning on upon relations between the sexes and those of kinship, began to be influenced by class relations (not only in the formation of the family couple, the division of labor between man and woman, and the upbringing and orientation of the children, but also in transferences to other families and social self-reproduction). The local communities with all that is involved in coexistence within them and among them (division of labor, production, economic and social exchanges, participation in

*Which is in a certain rapport with the production relations and with some elements of the productive forces.

decisions, shifts of population, etc.) had their own rules for their organization and functioning but they were not without class influences. As a rule the people, a more comprehensive form of community, were formed along with the classes and were affected by them. The nation, a community formed after the classes appeared, was influenced by them. Although it appeared later in history than the others, the differentiation into social classes became paramount and affected the other social distinctions. Therefore the concept of social class is the most important one in a theory of social structure. Of course there were also reverse influences upon classes from the other communities and groups, but they were not as powerful as the influences of the classes upon them. In Romania too, in the present stage, the classes are the main component of the social structure as a whole, although their role has diminished since the beginning stage of socialism and will continue to diminish. Meanwhile components like the social strata and the groupings according to occupation, schooling and qualification, generations etc. are beginning to play a more important part in the evolution of that structure. In conclusion, the concept of social class will be primarily important in studies of the Romanian social structure as a whole, and the evolution of the other components is to be studied and their particular evolution and the way they are beginning to consolidate their positions in the whole structure are to be determined in connection with it, while the classes will gradually lose their present central position in the social structure.

In connection with the concept of social class, I shall indicate a few points to be considered in developing it: 1. This concept has not been extensively discussed in Romanian sociological literature in connection with Karl Marx' works, but examination of the latter reveals some questions that should be taken into consideration. Marx approached the classes from many viewpoints, philosophical, economic, historical, political and sociological, but he treated them in reference to a production method entirely in general, or to a given production method, or to a particular society at a given point in its evolution. These many approaches show that this phenomenon itself, the classes, is a special subject that cannot be exhausted or fully understood from any one of the viewpoints alone but only on the basis of all of them. 2. The socioeconomic developments of this century have not borne out the general validity of the English model of the evolution of capitalism which was constructed in "Capital" and upon which Marx based certain predictions. Toward the end of his life Marx also considered other possibilities for the evolution of the socioeconomic units but he did not develop a theory about them. By making absolutes of some of Marx' theories, dogmatism arrived at a general linear theory of the development of societies through their necessary progress through five kinds of systems, namely the primitive commune, slavery, feudalism and capitalism, each one characterized by a pair of polar main classes. 3. The imperialist system was formed by division of the states into a few that became highly developed centers and the others that became marginal, blocked and retarded in their evolution by the developed centers. This new worldwide phenomenon changed many of the data of the problem of formation and evolution of the nation and the classes in the present period. 4. New studies in social history have revealed that precapitalist history must also be reconsidered. It cannot be diagramed on the basis of production methods directly succeeding each other, since it is multilinear and does not always follow one line of development everywhere. These are only a few of the new data to be considered in defining the social classes.

CALIN ANASTASIU: Only a dogmatic evaluation of Marx' thought and of his theoretical method and tools could avoid examining the relationship between his concept of class and the facts of the specific-historical situations upon which his analyses were based. In the course of time a number of discussions have noted the difficulties of isolating his concept from the historical situation upon which it was based and of extending it mechanically to units with kinds of social and production relations other than those Marx studied in the middle of the last century. Therefore we think the theoretical effort still necessary to obtain a suitable conceptual basis for treating both the social structures of the socialist countries and those of societies with other kinds of relations should be analyzed in the following respects: (a) Reexamination of the concept of class as Marx saw it in the light of the determinations (dimensions) upon which he based this concept and of analysis of the relations between them and their specific-historical support. Since it was more difficult or at any rate more laborious, this procedure was usually neglected in favor of more convenient speculations based on Lenin's well-known definition of the classes. (b) Analysis of the production relations of the precapitalist political-ideological forms and social structures, both in the European area and outside it, in order to understand the modus operandi and evolution of these kinds of societies on the whole. This study is needed because in Marx' view of the rise and fall of capitalism in the geographic and historical area that he studied, namely Western Europe in the 16th-19th centuries, class was associated with the mechanism of historical determinism. In other words the concept of class was an explanatory concept integrated in a more general theory of social change as a whole.

I shall present below only some of the conclusions that could be drawn from the theoretical studies we have already made, short of going into detailed demonstrations of them.

Upon reexamination of Marx' main texts, we found that his concept of class was formed at the intersection of five dimensions. The first of them, and the only one I shall discuss further, includes (and also transcends) what has been traditionally called the "criterion of property." Marx undoubtedly used the terms "bourgeoisie" and "proletariat" in the sense of the distinction between ownership of the production means and lack of it. But the acceptance of this distinction in Marxist thought solely from the formal standpoint of property relations, to the neglect of the specific aspects of their content, raised some questions on which there has not yet been any consensus. We can mention here the conflicting views on the validity of the property criterion for defining the classes in the existing socialist societies. Researchers studying the precapitalist societies in depth, especially those outside Western Europe, encounter difficulties in operating with this criterion. Accordingly we feel we must first proceed from Marx' idea that the objective positions and roles of the social groups in productive activities, and only later their legal sanction, are important to an understanding of the classes in capitalism, and that the economic and political inequalities and social distinctions in general are based upon these objective positions and roles (constituting the specific content of the property relations and of the production relations in general. In the second place, it is significant that Marx himself developed his own conception of property in that he gave it a historical dimension. A sketch (rather simplistic as a matter of fact) on the succession of forms of ownership appears in "German Ideology." But later on in a mature work like "Bases of a Critique of Political Economics"

Marx uses ownership in the much broader sense of "objective conditions for performance of work," enabling him to bring out an extensive historical process that runs through the various kinds of societies, on the trajectory of which the particular forms of ownership can be plotted: the separation of free labor from the objective economic conditions for its performance. Marx proceeded from the fact that as contrasted with modern capitalist society, in the societies with underdeveloped productive forces the producer was directly tied to his production means. The historical process of dismantling of the various precapitalist structures (Marx refers to the Asiatic, ancient, Germanic, feudal landed and artisan forms), wherein the producer was de facto or de jure the owner as well, is also the process of their gradual separation, a process completed in the capitalist production method, the first one in history to be based upon total separation of the producer from the owner.* Therefore the capitalist production method is the only one that contains, in the very structure of its own production relations, these two distinct and opposed positions, that of the possessor of the free labor and that of the possessor of the economic conditions for its performance. Hence the result of the capitalist production process is not only production of goods but also reproduction of those positions.

The existence of these two positions in the structure of production relations is the objective basis for the formation of social groups that may be said to have class characteristics, which are, in brief, (a) Both participate in the production process. (b) Because of the particular conditions under which the producer is combined with the means of work in the capitalist production method (by exchange, when the market is generalized), this production method is also an exploitation method: The surplus product is extracted by economic means strictly within the production relations, while a certain social group acquires and capitalizes on the surplus value. This is not characteristic of the previous production methods. (c) These opposed positions in the structure of production relations give rise to conflicting interests, regardless of how far they are perceived within the groups.

Some recent Marxist contributions (by H. H. Stahl, Samir Amin, Rene Gallissot, Claude Meillassoux, C. Coquery-Vidrovich, Maurice Godelier et al.) lead to the conclusion that the precapitalist production methods (the dialectics of which must be considered different from the presupposed universally necessary succession of primitive commune to slavery and feudalism) and the social structures they generated do not have all these characteristics. Due to their characteristic features (including the method of group participation in the production process and the great importance of the political and ideological mechanisms), the exploitation relations upon which the dominant and dominated groups are based do not stem directly from the production relations as in capitalism, since those production methods permit several exploitation methods by virtue of their very structure. In other words, the structures of domination are based upon those exploitation methods superimposed upon a given production method and not directly upon the production methods themselves. This does not mean that the forms of domination do not take the form of economic inequalities but only that they do not stem from economically generated inequalities. On the contrary, in capitalism the dominant and dominated positions are ultimately reflections (reproductions), in the social-political, ideological and other areas, of the two positions in the structure of the production relations, which is a class structure

*The question whether this is not true of kinds of relations other than the feudal and slave-holding ones requires fuller discussion, which cannot be developed here, on the basis of arguments to be found in Marx's text and in the conclusions of some recent studies.

in Marx' view. These differences require us to redefine our conceptual system for treating the social structures based on kinds of relations other than the capitalist ones that Marx analyzed.

Accordingly the concept of class developed by Marx to describe the positions of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as well as the relations between them depends on the formation of a certain kind of social and production relations, a fact that also explains the appearance of the classes in history as well as the possibility of their disappearance as repositories of the basic social contradictions and as actors personifying the determinism of evolution.

Introduction of some distinctions in the use of Marx's concept of class based on the kind of society he studied, distinctions required by the very forms of functioning and evolution characteristic of other kinds of societies, is also necessary in our studies of the social structure characterizing socialist society.

SORIN MITULESCU: The concepts of social class and social stratum do not conflict and can be incorporated within a unified and much more differentiated treatment. While the Marxist concept of social class enables us to connect some specifically historical analyses with general sociological theory and consequently with social philosophy, that of stratum directly relates them to the specific manifestations of the social phenomena.

Developed by Max Weber (pursuant to the distinction he made between the economic and social orders, whereby he distinguished two groups, the economic groups or classes and the status groups), the concept of social stratum did not enter into extensive scientific circulation until the 1940's, through the intermediary of the functionalist theory. While the latter integrated it, it also "de-Marxized" it, that is it divorced it from Marx' concept of social class, in reference to which Weber had constructed it. In this way functionalism reduced analysis of social distinctions to mere quantitative differences spaced over a continuum wherein the social classes disappeared and only the social strata remained. Almost general rejection of the functionalist paradigm of stratification, even in non-Marxist theories, led to a more limited use of the concept of social stratum in sociological analysis of the social and class structure.

Some writers deny the possibility of establishing any real communication between any Marxist theory of classes and one of stratification, regarding each of them as points of departure and irreconcilable trends of development.

There is also another view that superficially combines the concepts of class and social stratum, to the point of considering the classes mere strata or stratified statistical categories and constructing conventional models for the purpose with three, four or five levels, the extremes of which are incorrectly called "upper and lower classes" and the interval between them "middle classes."

Another stand is taken by those who consider a stratification system a mere epiphenomenon of a class structure, its characteristics being inferred from the relations and oppositions of the underlying classes. I think consideration must be given to the views that regard the current social changes in socialist society both as rapprochements between classes and preservers of their individuality and as creators of strata (that is of social categories following from

complex economic, social-political and cultural criteria). These strata are formed both within the traditional classes and at the intersection between them. Their role may be both one of leveling and homogenizing and one of intensifying some social distinctions. Thus the evolution of the social and class structure of Romanian society indicates that many elements of class leveling are formed under the influence of party and socialist state policy. Some take the form of strata even at the intersection between classes. Other processes, functioning as social levelers, cause partial overlapping between a stratum of one class and a stratum of another class. Under the scientific-technical revolution the class distinctions between physical and intellectual work also take the form of differences within the classes, where they lead to diversification according to strata. But in other situations the social leveling processes may be counteracted by stratifications that can lead to social cleavages even more important than those between classes, or they can accentuate the existing ones. Other phenomena, such as certain discrepancies between incomes and prestige and the real social importance of a category of occupations, indicate the possible formation of particular strata distorting the class structure as a whole. Such processes indicate that diligent use of the concept of social strata, subordinated to the Marxist theory of social classes and integrated in the system of concepts for analysis of the social and class structure of socialist society, is also necessary on the theoretical level.

The idea must also be combatted that analysis from the standpoint of the classes is a qualitative one by nature and that analysis from the standpoint of strata is a quantitatively statistical one. Attempts to determine the strata on a solely quantitative basis occur in the literature, but they have presented no real picture of the structure or evolution of society. The strata must also be viewed in the light of the structural changes in society, and for that very reason stratification cannot be separated from the theory of the classes. In this connection we can state that the strata have a class character and also that the content of the theory of the classes is also modified according to the existing stratification conditions. Therefore we cannot accept any stand to the effect that in the long-range view of socialist society the classes are disappearing while the strata remain. But we can accept a view that under certain social-historical conditions differences of class or stratum appear on the first level of social reality, and that in the present stage of socialist society we are witnessing an attenuation of some class differences and the emergence of some differences of stratum.

Analysis of any phenomenon taking place in the social structure, and particularly of social mobility, calls for reference both to the social classes and to the strata that exist or are being formed, especially by the processes of social mobility, but passage from one stratum to another is not as clear as that from one class to another. And it can happen that an individual will cross "formally" from one class to another yet actually remain in the same stratum, if his actual social relations, his behavior and his aspirations remain unchanged. Therefore analysis of mobility in strata requires analysis by many criteria and combination of the quantitative and qualitative aspects.

IOANA PETRE: In order to analyze and fully understand the social structure of a given society and the place and role of the classes in that structure, the scientific procedure must be supplemented with treatment of their evolution and

direction of development. Recent sociological thought has taken a new direction in analyzing the problems of evolution of the social structure by relating that social process to another one that is equally significant for contemporary society, namely social mobility. This relationship is sometimes expressed in terms of causality: Does the evolution of the social structure determine social mobility or, conversely, is social mobility the social process that permits development of a society's social structure? In the effort to resolve this dilemma, some authors have concluded that both the structural changes and social mobility are caused by general factors acting primarily in the economic area of society, so that it is more a matter of interaction between social structure and mobility within the broader framework of the general developmental processes. But I feel this attempt at an answer is on a too general level and the relationships in question are vaguely suggested.

For a correct answer, I think it is first necessary to make the following distinctions: (a) Between the kinds of change in the social structure, distinguishing two main classes, namely changes in the social and class structure that accompany transition from one social order to another, and changes occurring in the same kind of social structure; (b) The distinction must also be made between structural social mobility (due to general factors, especially economic, technical etc.) determining the dynamism of the social and class structure, and non-structural or net mobility (due to other factors), the question of relationships between social structure and mobility arising only in the case of evolution of the same kind of social and class structure.

The tendency to equate social mobility and evolution of the social structure has been a common error in treatment of this relationship, for the socioeconomic processes determining the continuity and discontinuity of the social structure are formed in terms of a logic essentially different from that governing the succession of individual generations. And so despite the importance of the family as a factor for continuity as well as that of the generations in determining the social processes, the sequence of generations and historical development are two fundamentally different processes. The processes of social mobility develop in the confrontation between the historical and individual conditions, a confrontation that gives rise to innumerable individual careers that ultimately represent the very content of the evolution of the social structure.

Another distinction that must be made in the relationship between mobility and evolution of the social structure is that between the subjects of the former and the latter or, in other words, between the mobility of individuals and that of social positions. Unfortunately most studies of mobility ignore the changes in the social positions themselves and analyze only the individuals' shifts into those positions. But clearly in analysis of the evolution of the social and class structure the changes in the social positions, groups and classes are primary and the individual ones are secondary.

One of the more recent aspects of investigation of the problems of the relationship between the evolution of the social structure and social mobility is that of the ways of life of the various social classes, groups etc. according to their positions in a society's social structure. I feel this new direction of research is particularly useful and necessary, both theoretically and practically, because sociological treatment of the said relationship must not be confined to discovering its objective determinations but must be supplemented with

in-depth study of the social and psychosocial mechanisms that release it, which lend it its particular forms and characteristic manifestations, or beyond the given objective social reality there are individuals and groups (classes, communities etc.) that interpret this reality relatively differently and incorporate it in their attitudes and behavior. The appearance and development of a general way of life in a society, and of the ways of life or life styles characteristic of the various social categories, are such actual results of the interdependent action of the evolution of the social structure and mobility. Therefore we can speak of both the socialist or capitalist way of life and the working-class, peasant, bourgeois or even petty bourgeois, urban, rural and other ways of life, according to the respective elements of the social structure. Since development of the social structure and mobility are gradual processes over rather long periods of time, not only the differentiated manifestations of the ways of life must be presented, but also the "transitory" ones (including elements not characteristic of any particular way of life). And while the ways of life of the various classes or communities had features that sharply distinguished them in past periods, they interact in contemporary and especially socialist society. This situation is due to the fact that we are in full course of destructuring and restructuring the ways of life of the various classes and communities, and also in the presence of some increasingly apparent trends toward social leveling and rapprochement between the social categories.

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PARTY'S VIEWS ON CLASS, SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Sep-Oct 83 pp 397-405

/Article by Ion Dragan, Honoriu Cazacu, Maria Fulea and Oscar Hoffman: "CPR's Ideas and Strategy Concerning Evolution of Socialist Romania's Social and Class Structure"

/Text A large proportion of the studies at the Sociology Center have been devoted to investigation, with the resources of our science, of the problems in connection with the quantitative and qualitative changes in the working class in the course of socialist construction and of considerations about its growing leadership in society. The mechanisms have been analyzed of the processes of social and occupational mobility that have increased the numbers and proportions of the working class, which has become "numerically as well the strongest class of Romanian socialist society, including over 50 percent of the total active population," as Nicolae Ceausescu said in the Speech at the Expanded Plenum of June 1982. (1) The study of these quantitative changes specially emphasized analysis of the social and occupational mobility, between generations and within generations, of the various categories of the population toward the working class, as well as evaluation of the contradictory processes of social and occupational integration of the new contingents of workers, especially young ones, into the working class. The processes have also been studied of rapprochement between the working class and other social classes or categories in Romania, as well as its growing participation in social management, particularly in connection with the transition to the principles and methods of workers self-management. In recent years our collectives have tried to bring out the qualitative changes in the working class structure, namely its higher level of occupational and technical qualifications, cultural education and worker awareness, and the resulting pronounced advance of the working class in the nation's economic, social-political and cultural affairs.

We feel that the disclosure, on the basis of specific studies and statistical analyses, of some new phenomena that have become more pronounced in recent years in connection with the sources and mechanisms of development and social reproduction of the working class is of particular sociological and political significance. And our analyses tell us that the processes of social reproduction and self-reproduction of the various social classes and categories present an important general problem of the correlative trends of the overall social structure

and a particular problem for the working class. Accordingly, the change in the sources of recruitment of the working class, in that the peasantry is no longer the main source of new workers, has come to be particularly important to the working class. The new contingents of workers are coming and will come directly from the graduates of the various forms of education and from all social categories to an increasing extent. This situation is changing the social mechanisms that form the working class and presenting new and complex problems in the socialization of the new workers, especially as regards their participation in the series of political roles peculiar to the working class mission. While in the previous stages occupational and social mobility within the same generations was predominant, with the problems of transforming the former peasant to a worker, now and especially in the future the mobility is from one generation to the next, with the problems of school youth's direct passage into the ranks of the industrial or agricultural workers. It is clear that from this standpoint, the necessity of correlating the worker's social-occupational status with the ability of the new contingents of workers to perform the roles and especially the political roles characteristic of the working class as a leading class in society involves new and inevitably contradictory considerations and problems. Accordingly the difficulties young workers have in assimilating workers awareness and the true revolutionary regulatory and operational model characteristic of the working class give rise to complicated problems requiring careful study.

The studies of the Sociology Center's collectives have also brought out other social problems of the occupational, social and political integration of the third "wave of workers" (as it has been called by some researchers), which has been looming large in Romanian industry in the 1970's and 1980's, marked by rapid development of the productive forces through intensive industrialization of the national economy. What is characteristic of this new contingent of workers, who are no longer of predominantly peasant origin but come en masse from the schoolrooms directly into industrial production, is the relatively great distance between their previous working experience and the realities and demands that face them in production. They have in back of them neither experience with long and hard work in traditional agriculture nor any human qualities formed in directly productive work. Their socialization in industrial production in keeping with the standards of the working class model of social and political values presents no few or easy problems of integration, discipline and stability. Moreover the studies show that this "third wave" of workers heralds the appearance of some new social and human aspects of the enterprises' activity.

The new category of young workers, with their high level of vocational instruction and training, brings to industrial production not only a lesser potential for physical effort but also greater potentials for intellectual effort, and especially an orientation toward new values not as well perceived by the other waves and toward new aspirations. For them, work is no longer a means of individual economic survival. That motivation has now been replaced by the need of prestige, dignity, personal and social fulfillment in work, and participation. The working climate, group relations, relations with the managers of the production process, and promotion of the values of active and creative participation in production and management are accordingly acquiring an importance that they did not have for the previous "waves."

The change in the motivation for work and in the values that determine it is a favorable fact characterizing the transition to a higher stage in Romanian society and also to the need of a new approach to relations between the enterprise and its workers. In this new situation, it was necessary to intervene both in the content of the values characteristic of the "third wave" and in the areas of enterprise experience and the system of social management. On the initiative of the CPR secretary general, radical changes were made in order to meet these objective necessities on the level of the schools (since they have become the main source of the labor force, on the level of the enterprise, the institution with the most important educational role in the lives of the youths after graduation, and on the levels of economic and social management and of educational and cultural policy. The common factor of these major innovations in Romanian society is consistent promotion of the principles of workers self-management and a new, revolutionary education of all youth through work and for work.

The second point we wish to stress concerns the standards of occupational training of new workers in view of the full development of the technical-scientific revolution, a question that has also been extensively studied by some of the Sociology Center's collectives. In brief, the conclusion from these studies is that special emphasis must be placed upon development of all workers' ability to use the technical-scientific disciplines creatively in production and upon training that will permit occupational adjustment to the intensive evolution of contemporary technical-scientific progress.

In the party's view the principle of working class leadership in socialist revolution and construction was not meant to minimize the other social classes and categories in Romania. Bringing out the functions peculiar to each social class and category is a major requirement for social studies. We are referring here to the role of the cooperative peasantry in the current priorities of the Program for Romania's Socioeconomic Development adopted by the 12th Party Congress and the requirements for the start of a new agrarian revolution. The party secretary general's statement that "The peasantry is still the second social class in both numbers and importance in Romania's socioeconomic activity"⁽²⁾ calls for rejection of any recollections of the views that circulated in Romania about the historical limitations of agriculture and the peasantry under the present conditions, which views were not shared in the least by our center's specialists in agricultural and rural sociology. Nicolae Ceausescu's statement about the priority role of agriculture and consequently of the peasantry in national socioeconomic development and in improving the Romanian people's quality of life is of quite outstanding importance in the consideration of these problems.

Some of the studies brought out the discrepancies, serious at points, in the structure of the peasantry as regards age, sex and educational stock, pointing out the trends toward advanced aging and feminization of the agricultural population as well as the need of more intensive encouragement of professionalism in the agricultural labor force. In collaboration with the Research Center for Youth Problems, the Sociological Research Center compiled an extensive study back in 1977 of the social factors and the measures for stabilizing some of the rural youth in agriculture.

But as we know a number of circumstances, inadequately studied and insufficiently considered in practical activity especially, led to distortions in the

structure of the agricultural population, a rather intensive feminization of agricultural labor, and an aging of the agricultural population, especially in the CAP's Agricultural Production Cooperatives, that resulted in a certain lag in agriculture. For example, in the age group of 15-20 years there are 155 women employed in agriculture to 100 men; in that of 34-40 years, there are 183 women to 100 men; and in that of 55-60 years, there are 195 women to 100 men. According to our studies, even in a county like Vaslui, where the ration between the agricultural and nonagricultural population in 1980 was 2:1 (far above the national average), the "feminization" coefficient of agricultural labor amounted to 185 percent in the age group of 30-39 years. Of course it would be deceptive to treat the problem of social self-reproduction of the peasantry quantitatively, in view of the necessarily objective nature of the reduced proportion of the peasantry under the conditions of contemporary society and advanced modernization of agriculture. The problem is a qualitative one, consisting of the need of securing an optimal structure of the peasantry according to age, sex and level of training in keeping with the demands of the new agrarian revolution.

Our center undertook, albeit more recently, a program to investigate the social evolution of the intelligentsia ("the third social force in Romanian society" as Nicolae Ceausescu described them), analyzing among other things the intelligentsia's new functions in the conversion of science into a directly productive force and in the advancement of science as a controlling factor for Romania's socioeconomic progress. Analysis of the intelligentsia from the standpoint of the particular trends of its various subgroups, as well as its growing commitment to production of the material values, demonstrating the direct contribution of science and education to formation of the national income, compel us to reconsider many of our old concepts of work. The Sociological Research Center's investigations led to some conclusions, among which we note particularly those concerning the Romanian intelligentsia's social functions in the present stage:

- Function of creating, disseminating and using the intellectual values (goods and services);
- Function of participating in creation of material values;
- Function of socializing the members of society as a whole through culture;
- Function of participating in management;
- Function of socializing its members (intellectuals) through work;
- Function of participating in international collaboration and the exchange of material and intellectual values.

Actual performance of these functions presents a number of problems and some new contradictions.

Our studies reveal a growing differentiation "in the interior" of the intelligentsia, and different and sometimes even divergent trends in the evolution of some of its groups. The RTS Technical-Scientific Revolution and self-management procedure are increasing the proportions of some categories of intellectuals while others are declining. The subgroup of intellectuals directly involved

with production of material goods is evolving particularly. The historical prospects of this subgroup present many practical problems. Development by internal effort, an essential feature of Romanian strategy, calls for formation of a strong subgroup for research, design and development, and that is resulting and will result more and more in the formation of an extensive nucleus of research and information specialists in design, engineers etc.

The studies call our attention to the problem of reproduction and, in some groups of Romanian intellectuals, to that of the so-called "dual models" of training. That is, the specialists in technology and the natural sciences sometimes under-rate mastery of social-human culture while workers in the social-human field are often lacking in technological disciplines. This model of training results in practice in "dual" and "parallel" forms of social behavior, since the engineers, technicians and specialists in the natural sciences have less potential for the social-human problems of production while the specialists in the humanities contribute less to the discussion of the technical-economic problems.

The intellectuals' education in the light of some new models of training and their indoctrination in the spirit of combined participation in production and in solving the human problems call for serious discussion of the new kind of professional and social training of the future intellectuals.

Let us note briefly the studies of the social phenomena of interaction of the social classes and categories in Romania and of formation of "transitional groups," or social groups with mixed class characteristics. This applies, for example, to many commuting industrial workers, to some categories of highly skilled workers in peak technology who perform largely managerial functions in the production process, to the agricultural workers who practice characteristically working-class occupations in the CAP's, etc.

In the attempt to intensify the complete and dynamic sociological treatment of the changes in Romania's social and class structure, theoretical and methodological efforts were then redoubled to develop and use a comprehensive conceptual system, with many new elements, that would permit a differentiated and more profound diagnosis of the essential features and aspects of these historical processes.

The theory and concepts of occupational, geographic and social mobility were primarily applied in order to analyze the major social processes taking place in the social area of the new Romanian social-political system. The intensification of circulation among the social classes and categories, due especially to the shift of a large part of the peasantry into the ranks of the working class and from both classes into the ranks of the intelligentsia, was accordingly evaluated by means of field studies and statistical analysis. The effects upon the social structure of the intensive development of the national economy, the policy of socialist industrialization and modernization of the national economy as a whole, and the urbanization processes were studied in this way.

In discussing these problems we cannot ignore the fact that some of our own studies as well as those of other collectives were characterized to a certain extent by the temptations of descriptivism and incomplete and fragmentary measures, so that some of them could not bring out the sociological, macrosocial and

general relevance of the processes studied or the real significance of them and especially of the phenomena of mobility of some categories of the population. We think defects of this kind were to a great extent due to the fact that the sociologists, demographers and statisticians had not yet developed the theoretical model of a functionally optimal social and class structure in keeping with the objective necessities of the nation's harmonious socioeconomic development. Construction of such a model (through multidisciplinary cooperation of course) would have provided a theoretical basis for a more accurate evaluation of the significance of some processes of geographic and social mobility by distinguishing the constructive ones from those reflecting dysfunctions in the class structure and in the social structure in general. And it would have been possible to clearly formulate and substantiate the conclusion that, for example, the rural-urban, agricultural-industrial mobility of the peasantry and other social categories is not unconditionally (that is, at any rate or in any proportions) a constructive or favorable phenomenon, and that ultimately social mobility is necessary and desirable in its trends, proportions and rates insofar as it permits optimal functioning of the nation's social structure in each stage by providing for the place and role of each social class and category according to the particular necessities and conditions of socioeconomic development. Undoubtedly a more finished scientific, multidisciplinary and especially sociological projection of the evolution of the social and class structure would have enabled our studies and those of others to detect and analyze more thoroughly and earlier the conflicting phenomena and dysfunctions that developed between some activities and social groups, and they could have offered suggestions for political action to eliminate them.

Comprehensive study of the evolution of the classes and of relations between them from a systemic point of view is the only way to reveal and help to preclude such asymmetrical developments in the social structure when they are appearing, as for example the phenomena of intensive rejuvenation and professionalization of the working class, enabling us to speak of a new "generation of workers," but also those of aging of the cooperative peasantry. It is sufficient to compare, to this effect, the average age of workers in the new big and modern industrial enterprises, which ranges from 23 to 25 years in many cases, with that of CAP members, which frequently comes to about 60 years.

Our current conclusion is that the rates of mobility in themselves are no criterion for evaluating the social processes (as they have often been represented in the past, even by our researchers), and that their correlated, integrated examination is necessary from the overall viewpoint of the functional optimum of the social structure.

Since Romania has entered (in accordance with the strategic goals set by the 12th Party Congress) a new developmental stage characterized by the growing predominance of the intensive and qualitative aspects of development, a specific analysis of the meaning of the transition to the qualitative stage of changes in the social structure is becoming necessary, and we feel a few problems could be given special consideration.

In general, the transition to a new qualitative stage in the evolution of the social structure means that the process of increase and decrease of the social classes and categories is no longer the predominant social process in the

socialist type of social structure. In other words, the proportions of the classes will not change essentially in the immediate period, which means that social mobility no longer takes the form primarily of passage from one class to another (mobility between classes within a generation) but other forms requiring priority consideration, namely mobility within the social classes and categories, between generations, etc.

Accordingly more and more emphasis will be placed on improvement of the present class structure in such ways as changes in the structure of each social class or category by improving the level of training, social experience, relations between occupations, and the nature of the workload (by increasing mental demands at the expense of physical exertion, etc.); consolidation of the social cohesion between the social classes and categories; and improvement of the functioning of each social category (especially by consolidating self-management and social responsibility).

Modification of the institutional system of Romanian society in view of transition to the qualitative stage of evolution of the social structure (developing the enterprises' role as a socializing factor, increasing the importance of social control by moral standards instead of legal ones, etc.) must be studied more intensively.

The contradictions in the present developmental stage of the class structure are a crucial problem. The quantitative processes of growth of the working class especially and of some groups of intellectuals and those of decline of other classes (cooperative peasantry) have led to the formation of a class structure with the limitations of the present stage. Transition to a new qualitative stage means the solution of those contradictions but also new ones, and those, too not only between social classes and categories (the subject of most studies) but even within the classes between the various subgroups and strata.

A new perspective is needed in the study and analysis of the factors making for change in the social structure of the present stage. In our opinion, the qualitative, social-political and social-psychological factors for change in the social structure (participation in management, promotion of the RTS, development of socialist social awareness, and basing all social relations on principles of socialist ethics and justice). The growing importance of some superstructural factors and the cultural models (social awareness, the aspirations-motivations system, and social standards, values and feelings) as well as those for human relations call for concentration of research on the less studied fields such as the way of life, social awareness, the system of standards and human relations as elements of the evolution of the social structure. The analysis of the evolution of the class structure must be supplemented with new considerations involving a broader view of classes as communities of life with their own cultural models, life styles, particular psychology etc.

In this connection more emphasis must be placed on the vast problems of self-management in the light of class structure. Working class leadership is the result of a long and complex historical process. An individual's membership in the working class does not automatically fit him to perform the series of roles involved in the exercise of social leadership. Romania has created an original, sui generis system of institutions that will not only permit but also encourage

and demand the masses' widespread participation in social management on all levels. That system does not operate automatically. Our studies proved that the changes within the social classes in the form of improvement of class relations and of the structure peculiar to each one have a direct effect upon the operation of the institutional system of self-management.

It is also necessary to resume and expand the studies of the role of education as a particular factor for reproduction and reform of the Romanian social and class structure. It is clear that many asymmetrical, sometimes contradictory and dysfunctional effects still remain in this area too and require careful study. The constructive role of education in social reproduction and in development of the working class is well known, especially since the restructuring of education in the light of Nicolae Ceausescu's innovating policy of integrating it with production and research. Education is contributing to the numerical and qualitative growth of the working class, to its rejuvenation and professionalization and, to some extent, to the social diversification of the sources of its recruitment. Education has always been the main source of the intelligentsia's social reproduction, but in Romania it is not fully performing its characteristic role in socialism of expanding the sources of the socialist intelligentsia's recruitment. As for the peasantry, education has been one of the factors contributing to the phenomena of social underreproduction of that social class.

In conclusion, we shall briefly discuss the problems of social leveling:

- Leveling does not cover all the existing differences in society. Homogeneous communist society will not be (nor can it be) an amorphous state of undifferentiated individuals. Some differences cannot be erased (the natural ones caused by age, personal abilities, geographic characteristics, etc.) and others should not be. Social leveling applies solely to the social differences between the groups that involve social inequalities and essential social differences.

- Social leveling is no end in itself but an essential factor in advancing the supreme goal of party and state policy, namely a socialist and communist civilization of free and fully developed people with individualities of their own.

- As the social leveling process progresses, conditions are created for a new kind of social diversification. The disappearance of the distinctions due to the class structure and stratification stimulates the appearance of new kinds of diversification and differentiation (social and occupational, aspirations and preferences, use of spare time, social-public activities, living conditions, opportunities for development, etc.). We think the constructive social function of social diversification has been underrated at times, as well as its role in promoting progress and stimulating activity.

Achievement of a functional optimum ratio between social leveling and differentiation is a problem of major practical importance. Social distortions in any direction (undue accentuation or unwarranted curtailment of a process) can cause dissatisfaction and aggravate the social contradictions. Some sociologists (and not they alone) are less interested in analyzing the specific relationships in the system of social differentiations.

The dynamic balance between leveling and differentiation is an essential source of socioeconomic dynamism and consolidation of social cohesion. We do not feel that the differentiation according to strata within each social category and the effects of this stratification upon social activism have been adequately studied as yet. The social classes have been studied more as relatively distinct (homogeneous) units in their mutual relations and less as units with some internal differentiation. For example, some subgroups or sectors have not been analyzed realistically enough, such as that of services (trade, artisan cooperatives, health), wherein social distortions of the correct relationships between incomes and training, work and incomes, work and actual contributions, etc. can and do appear. These distortions can aggravate some contradictions or cause new ones.

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HISTORIANS RE-EXAMINE ORIGINS OF YUGOSLAV STATE

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[Article by Milos Misovic: "New Judgments of Old Mistakes"]

[Text] It is not difficult to understand why the recent debates about Yugoslavia and Yugoslavism attract the attention of old and young audiences alike. This is understandable for the simple reason that these audiences almost daily receive different, and sometimes completely divergent, appraisals of Yugoslavia, both the present one, federal, socialist and self-managing, and the old one, monarchist, centralist and unitarist, out of which the present one emerged.

It is unusual, however, that this interest is not stimulated so much by new insights in past events and conditions as by insistent attempts of individuals who try to adapt historical past to their own wishes and limited visions.

Historians and political analysts will probably need more time to explain the roots of such attempts. For the time being, they only point out that one-sided, rash and tactless appraisals do not contribute to a clearer vision of our common past, including the Yugoslavia created in 1918 and what preceded this event.

Such a message could be heard in recent talks in the Youth Palace in Belgrade, where on 8 November a series of discussions began on the theme "Historiographic Controversies About Yugoslavia." The organizers of this established platform invited the historians from all the Yugoslav university centers to state, through an open dialogue, their opinions and judgments about this topic, as they had formed them in their research.

The first participants in these talks were Dr Vasilije Krestic, a Belgrade professor and author of a recently published book, "Serbo-Croatian Relations and the Yugoslav Idea," Dr Rene Lovrencic, a professor from Zagreb, Dr Janko Pleterski, professor from Ljubljana, and Dr Milorad Ekmecic, professor from Sarajevo. In a debate that lasted several hours, during which they also answered questions from the audience, they attempted to explain many fallacies in the interpretation of the Yugoslav idea and the creation of

the Yugoslav state. Pointing out that Yugoslavism is one of the most complex and multifaceted problems in our historiography, Professor Krestic repeated his thesis that there is no unique Yugoslav idea, but that this term comprises several ideas that appeared in various geographic and ethnic areas, under various influences, and underwent various transformations, depending on the changing situations in Europe and especially in the Balkans. Emphasizing that Yugoslavism is a complex, heterogenous and delicate problem, Professor Krestic said that precisely for this reason, our scientists' judgments on Yugoslavia and Yugoslavism provoke a number of reactions, not only scientific ones but also political and national reactions which make a faster and more complete illumination of this phenomenon more difficult.

Professor Krestic is not alone in his opinion on the existence of various Yugoslav ideas.

Professor Milorad Ekmecic, who stated in his noted study "Serbia's War Aims in 1914" that "the idea of a Yugoslav state is not tied to the outbreak of war in 1914 but was born and formulated on the heritage of Yugoslav national movements and ideologies which entered the war seeing in it a great hope and historical opportunity," gave a very interesting interpretation of the crisis of the Yugoslav idea at this meeting. In Dr Ekmecic's opinion, Yugoslav idea underwent a crisis after the triumph of 1918, because the concept of "nations as language communities," which was accepted in Europe long before the creation of Yugoslavia, in our case (after 1918) was transformed into the concept of "nations as religious communities."

Commenting on this transformation, Professor Ekmecic added that national movements, which began at different times and under different conditions in different European nations, are not finished and that we are deluding ourselves when we think that these processes have terminated. The well-known historian said that fascism was the highest type of classical nationalism which still exists transformed into other forms.

In order to prove that the Yugoslav idea is not a political construction or a phantasmagoria of an enthusiastic minority, but a real judgment of all the peoples of Yugoslavia that they should experience their national emancipation within the framework of a common state which they could not achieve individually because they were separated by various state and other barriers, Professor Lovrencic proffered numerical data which, in their own way, explain the complexity of the Yugoslav idea and heterogeneous desires reflected in it.

Before the unification into a common state, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire there were 5,726,000 Croats, Serbs and Slovenes. Serbia, which was nationally homogeneous at the time, had 2,529,000 inhabitants. Together with Macedonians, who were within the Turkish Empire, and Montenegrins, the number of South Slavs who later formed the common state did not top 10 million.

Presenting these data, Professor Lovrencic said that although Serbia was an autonomous state at the time and Croatia an Austro-Hungarian province, they were all directly or indirectly dependent on two large empires (Austria-Hungary and Turkey), whose power was diminishing but who were still strong enough to influence the orientation and fate of each of these peoples and of all of them together.

This situation, together with the general course of events in the Balkans, in Professor Lovrencic's opinion motivated the Yugoslav nations to join forces on a long-term basis, which made the Yugoslav idea vital and able to survive three systems. Born in feudalism, Dr Lovrencic said, it continued its life under capitalism, and experienced its full value and affirmation under socialism.

Professor Janko Pleterski supported the thesis of Dr Momcilo Zecevic, published recently in NIN, that the Yugoslav idea contains as an essential trait the "unity of various interests," which means that each special national interest "seeks a historical foothold in the South-Slavic commonality," and said that he has maintained that the Yugoslav program until 1918 contained the Serbian national question, too.

"Now," Dr Pleterski emphasized, "I read in NIN that Dr Zecevic speaks about the question how to assert an objective historical evaluation of the progressive content of the pan-Serbian national program until 1918 and expresses the opinion that, in fact, the right to the solution of the Serbian national question was fundamentally denied."

Paraphrasing Dr Zecevic's thought that one obstacle to an objective historical judgment consisted in the "conservative political thought of the Serbian bourgeoisie" and reproaching him for the fact that he did not give a "full answer" why this thought was like this, Dr Pleterski said:

"Mixing or even simply identifying the problems and politics of one's own nation with the Yugoslav community and politics is the main methodological source of historiographic fallacies of the above-mentioned type. Historiography which in the period between the two world wars wrote in the sense of Yugoslav unitarism and nationalism, which was the guiding thought of the regime, cultivated a one-sided identification of the Serbian and the Yugoslav, even to the point of ignoring the Serbian."

In the opinion of this historian, the difference between the "all-Serbian" and great-Serbian national program and politics "does not consist in the view of the extent of Serbdom, but in the way of solving the national questions, Serbian as well as others. This is the difference which, as Pleterski says, was long ago pointed out by Svetozar Markovic and other Serbian socialists who aimed at the liberation of all Serbs, but imagined them in a federation as a projection of an active revolution.

In his somewhat polemical exposition, Professor Pleterski emphasized that it would be necessary to "go once through history with the question of what Yugoslavia has meant for Serbia and for the solution of the Serbian

national problem." Recalling that there were historians who sought an answer to this question, he called attention to the works of the dean of Yugoslav historiography, Professor Vaso Cubrilovic, witness and actor of an era, who was ready to learn something from history. "I think that it would be good," Pleterski concluded, "if today, after so much new research, we carefully read and reflected on what he has written on this question."

Pointing out that we would afterwards "see more clearly what is today somehow lost under layers of printed paper: what Yugoslavia means to Serbs and to all of us, and how to preserve it," Pleterski added that Cubrilovic's writings clearly show that "there is no democratic solution for all the parts of the Serbian nation without Yugoslavia. And Yugoslavia is a thing of all her peoples; they created it to live in it and to develop while enjoying the same rights in mutual trust."

The historians' message is thus clear. At least for those who are ready and willing to read it carefully.

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